SANT ODES

PINDAR,

1111111111,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK,

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

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TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A DISSERTATION

ON THE

OLYMPIC GAMES, BY THE FORMER.

VOL. I.

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A

## DISSERTATION

ON THE

# OLYMPIC GAMES.

----- Pulverem Olympicum

Collegisse juvat.

HOR.



#### A

## DISSERTATION

ON THE

# OLYMPIC GAMES.

### SECTION I.

OF THE ORIGINAL OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

The vanity of the Grecians, in magnifying their antiquities, is remarkable in every part of their history. There was scarce a considerable town, or family of any note, that did not boast itself descended from some god, and show a pedigree deduced from the earliest ages of the world. This fabulous and extravagant nobility served for a common topic of flattery among all their poets, not to add orators and historians: too many instances of which are to be met with in the odes of Pindar.

It is no wonder then, if in the accounts of their religious institutions we neet with the same mixture of fable, the same pretensions to antiquity, and an original derived some way or other from the gods. Their deities were born in the fabulous age, and had taken possession of all Greece long before the birth either of history or chronology;

which did not come in use till some time after the restitution of the Olympic Games by Iphitus the Elean.

Whoever, therefore, would make an inquiry into the original establishment of these games, must be contented with such an account of it, as was cither invented or received by the Eleans, in whose territory, and under whose direction, they were celebrated; an account made up of fables and traditions.

And indeed the Eleans are of all people the most to be excused for mingling fables with their accounts of an institution, that is universally acknowledged to have subsisted before the use of chronological dates and records: the first example of which they themselves gave in the register of the Olympic conquerors, which they began to keep soon after the restoration of those Games; and by the invention of which they have made a sufficient expiation, not for themselves alone, but for all their countrymen. For if they have given us fable and tradition, where we might have expected history. they have in return helped us to the means of distinguishing thenceforward between one and the other; and of having truth and history, where we could otherwise hope to have met with nothing but fable and imposture.

Let them then be indulged in a vanity, which they have in common with all the nations of the world, both ancient and modern; and in which they were flattered and encouraged not a little by the great reputation of the Olympic Games. For, to say truth, the sanctity and solemnity of that festival; the najesty and supremacy of the god to whom it

was dedicated; and the great value set upon the Olympic crowns, by the unanimous consent of all Greece, were arguments sufficient to have induced even the most scripulous historian to receive a tradition, or adopt a fable, that furnished him with a founder worthy of so sacred and august an institution.

Accordingly, the greatest and most venerable personages of antiquity 1, the Idæan Hercules. Clymenus, Endymion, Pelops, and Hercules the son of Alcmena, have been severally introduced, as the inventors or revivers of these games; and, to support their different pretensions, reasons have been sought for, and arguments produced, from among the religious rites and ceremonies, the laws and customs of this solemnity. Thus Pausanias 2, for example, tells us, that these games were ordered to be celebrated every five years, because the brothers, called the Idai Dactuli, of whom the Idean Hercules was the elder, were five in number; to whom in particular, as also to his four brethren, an altar was consecrated at Olympia, by Clymenus, who was descended from this Hercules, and is said to have celebrated these games fifty years after the deluge of Deucalion. The term Athletæ (a name signifying those who contend for the prize, called also Athlon) is by others derived from Aëthlius the father of Endymion 3, who, as well as his sons, is reckoned among the founders of this festival. And as for Pelops, that here was held in such high veneration at Olympia+, that the Eleans in their sacrifices gave him the preference,

Paus, lib. 5. 2 Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. Chron. 4 Schol, ad Pind. Olymp. Od. 1.

even before Jupiter himself; for which they alleged the practice of Hercules the son of Alemena; to whose labours also, as Pindar informs 5 us, they were indebted for their olive-crown.

But, not contented with a founder who was mortal by his mother's side \$\frac{9}{2}\$ the Eleans lave carried their antiquities still higher, and name for the authors of these Games Jupiter and Saturn; who, as they pretend, in the very place where these Games were afterwards celebrated, wrestled with each other for the empire of the world.

Others affirm, that they were instituted by Jupittans; and that Apollo in particular signalized
himself, by gaining two victories; one over Mercury in the foot-race, and another over Mars in the
combat of the Cestus. And this, say they, is the
reason that the exercise of leaping? (one of the
five exercises of the Pentathlon) is always accompanied with flutes playing Pythian airs; because
those airs are consecrated to Apollo, and because Apollo gained two victories in the Olympic
Games.

In this account we may observe history (for there is something of historical truth at the bottom of all these traditions) swelling by degrees, and growing insensibly into fable; till by a progress, like that of fame in Virgil 8, its bulk becomes too big for truth and probability, and reaching at length from earth to heaven, it there totally disappears, lost and confounded with the rest of the autiqui-

<sup>5</sup> Olym. Ode 3.

Paus, lib. v.

ties of Greece, in the clouds of mythology and superstition.

It is needless to mention the names of several other heroes of those early ages, who, by different authors, are said to have celebrated these Games. The last of these was Oxylus, who came into the Peloponnesus with the Herachides?. After whom followed so long an intermission of that solemuity, that the memory of it was almost lost.

The occasions of celebrating the Olympic Games seem to have been various. Sir Isaac Newton is of opinion 10, 'That they were originally celebrated in triumph for victories; first by Hercules Ideus upon the conquest of Saturn and the Titaus; and then by Clymenus upon his coming to reign in the Terra Curetum; then by Endymion upon his conquering Clymenus; and afterwards by Pelops upon his conquering Ætolus; and by Hercules upon his killing Augeas; and by Atreus upon his repelling the Heraclides; and by Oxylus upon the return of the Heraclides into Peloponnesus.' This opinion may be very well supported out of ancient authors. Pindar expressly tells us, in his second Olympic ode, that Hercules instituted this festival to Jupiter, on occasion of the victory he obtained over Augeas. But the oracle delivered to the Peloponnesians, at the restitution of these Games by Iphitus, says, they were celebrated first by Pisus in honour of Jupiter "; then by Pelops twice; first, upon his coming to settle in Greece, and a second time at the fimeral of Œnomaüs; and after him by Hercules, in memory of Pelops 12; at

<sup>9</sup> Pans. lib. v.

<sup>10</sup> Chron, p. 156.

<sup>11</sup> Phlegon.

<sup>12</sup> Lib. i. c. 8.

whose death likewise, as Velleius Paterculus informs us, they had before been celebrated as funeral games by his son Atreus; upon which occasion, says the same author, Hercules came off victor in all the exercises. And indeed this account of the occasion of celebrating the Olympic Games is very agreeable to a custom which, as we learn from Homer, Pindar, and all the Greek writers, prevailed very much in those heroic Games, with prizes for the conquerors, were the usual compliment, and made up the greatest part of the ceremony at the funeral of every person of note and quality. The expense of these Games was sometimes borne by the relations and friends of the deceased; as we may see by the example of Achilles, who out of his own treasures gave the prizes, and those of no inconsiderable value, to the conquerors in the Games by him celebrated at the funeral of Patroclus. Sometimes the funeral was at the appointment of the public; and an anniversary solemnization of Games was enacted in honour of the deceased; such were those instituted by a decree of the Syracusians 13. as a perpetual memorial of the godlike virtues of Timoleon their deliverer and legislator.

To one or other, therefore, of these customs, in all likelihood, was owing the original of the Olynpic Games; as also of those celebrated at the Istimus of Corinth, at Delphi, Nemea, and indeed in every considerable town throughout all Greece. It is not so easy to assign a reason how those celebrated at Olympia cause to have the rank and pre-

<sup>13</sup> Plut, in Timol.

codency of all the others; some of which were dedicated to the same god, and could boast as venerable and as ancient a foundation. But whatever may have been the reason of this preference, all the people of Greece acquiesced in it, and agreed to bestow the first honours upon the Olympic conquerors <sup>14</sup>.

It cannot, however, I think, be pretended, that these Games were in any very great estimation before the time of their restitution by Iphitus, may very fairly be concluded, as well from the diversity and uncertainty of the accounts concerning the original and authors of them, as from the silence of Homer, who in the catalogue of the ships (where he takes occasion to inform the reader of the name and situation of the principal towns of Greece) makes no mention of Olympia; nor, when he speaks of Elis and the river Alpheus, as he doth in many parts both of the Iliad and the Odyssev, does he give the least hint of the Olympic Games; though we are told by other authors that they were celebrated by Pelops the grandfather, and afterwards in his honour by Atreus the father, of Agamemnon. Homer, besides, makes frequent mention of Games, and particularly at the funeral of Patroclus introduces his greatest heroes contending in the very same kind of exercises with those practised in the stadium of Olympia: upon which occasion, had the Olympic Games been then in such estimation as they are said to have been, one may believe he would not have failed making some mention of them; as well to render more illustrious the majesty

14 See Strabo, lib. viii.

of Agamemnon, the general of the Greeks, whose grandfather Pelops was worshipped equally with Jupiter at that solemnity, as to show from so great and august a precedent the high value of the honours paid by Achilles to his friend.

### SECTION II.

#### OF THE RESTITUTION OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

IPHITUS, king of Elis, is by all authors said to have restored the Olympic Games: which is not precisely true in any sense. For if by the Olympic Games be understood the religious policy and ordinances of that festival; the general armistice or truce that always accompanied its solemnization; the public mart' or fair then held for the benefit of commerce; and the period of four years called the Olympiad; all these he cannot so preperly be said to have restored, as to have been the first author and institutor of them. For of most of these things there is no mention before his time. Besides, allowing it to be true, that there were Games celebrated at Olympia even so far back as the golden age, and that there was a temple and sacrifices of the same date to Jupiter Olympius; it does not appear any where, as I remember, that all the Greeks were concerned in those sacrifices, or invited to partake in those Games. It should seem, on the contrary, by what has been said above. that they were celebrated at unequal distances of

<sup>1</sup> Vell. Pat. lib. i. c. S.

time, on private and particular occasions, and in compliance rather with fashion and custom, than in obedience to an ordinance, that required their solemnization at certain and stated periods. If by the Olympic Games be meant what is more generally understood by those words, the gynnastic combats and horse-races exhibited in the stadium at Olympic, he cannot be said to have restored the Olympic Games. For Pausanius 2 tells us, that he restored only the foot-race; the other exercises were afterwards added by the authority of the Eleans, according as they discovered or recollected what had formerly been practised in that solemnity.

But Iphitus indeed may with great justice be styled the founder of the Olympic Games. For he seems to have been the first that reduced that festival into a regular and coherent system or form; united the sacred and political institutions; and gave it, by the establishment of the Olympiad, that principle of life and duration, which enabled it to outlive the laws and customs, the liberty, and almost the religion, of Greece.

The occasion of the re-establishment of the Olympic Games was as follows:

Greece at that time being torn in pieces by civil wars 3, and wasted by a pestilence 4, Iphitus,

<sup>\*</sup> Lib. v. 3 Pans. lib, v. Phlegon, Euseb, Chron.

<sup>4</sup> In the fragment of Fhiegon, (from whence the greatest part of the following account is taken) Lycurgus, the lawgiver of Sparta, and one Cleosthenes of Fisa, are joined with Iphitus in restoring the Olympic Games. That this account, which makes Lycurgus cotemporary with Iphitus, cannot be reconsiled with chronology, the reader may see in Sir Isaac Newton's

one of the descendants of Hercules, grandson of Oxvlus, and king of Elis, concerned at the calamities under which his country then laboured, had recourse to the oracle at Delphi, for a remedy to those evils; and was told by the Pythoness, that the safety of Greece depended upon the re-establishment of the Olympic Games; the non-observance of which solemnity had, as she told them, drawn down the indignation of the god to whom it was dedicated; and of Hercules, the hero by whom it was instituted. She ordered him therefore, in conjunction with the people of Elis, to set about restoring the celebration of that festival, and to proclaim a truce or cessation of arms to all those cities who were desirous of partaking in the games 5. The other people of the Peloponnesus, whether jealous of the pre-eminence claimed by the Eleans on this occasion, or from a spirit of discord and dissention, refusing to comply, sent a common deputation to Delphi, ordering their deputies to interrogate the deity very strictly concerning the oracle lately reported to them: but the priestess, ever ready to authorize the schemes of kings and legislators, adhered to her former answer; and commanded them to submit to the directions and authority of the Eleans in the ordering and establishing the ancient laws and customs of their forefathers. The Peloponnesians then

Chronology; even admitting, what seems to be intimated by Phlegon, that there were two kings of Elis named Iphitus, between whom the same author reckons twenty-eight Olympiads to have passed, during which time the solemnization of the ()lympic Games was intermitted .- But of this more hereafter.

5 Phlegon.

submitted, and allowed the people of Elis to hold their festival, and proclain a general cesation of arms. Thus were the Olympic Games established by the authority of Iphitus, king of Elis, under the direction of the Delphic oracle, seven lundred and seventy-six years before the birth of Christ, and nineteen or twenty before the building of Rome, according to the common chronology, but one lundred and forty-nine according to Sir Isaac Newton 6.

In this institution there are three things to be considered: first, the religious ceremonies; secondly, the period or cycle of four years, called the Olympiad; and, thirdly, the games, comprehending the equestrian and gymnastic exercises. Of each of which I propose to give as full and particular an account, as I lave been able to collect from the imperfect relations of Pausanias, (who yet is more copious on these subjects than any other ancient author) or from the short, and oftentimes obscure, hints and allusions scattered up and down the works of almost all the Greek writers, as well in prose as in verse.

<sup>6</sup> See Newton's Chron. p 37, \$8,

### SECTION III.

#### OF THE RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.

GREECE indeed (says Pansanias 1) abounds with spectacles, which even in description cannot fail of exciting our admiration: yet (continues he) there is no one solemnity among all these, transacted with so much religious pomp and care as the Elcusinian mysteries and the Olympic Games. But as neither Pausanias, nor any other ancient writer now extant, bath thought fit to give us a complete and circumstantial account of the several rites and ceremonies observed on these solemn festivals, (some of which, especially those in the Elcusinian mysteries, all the Grecians held it unlawful to divulge) we can only frame to ourselves a general idea of the splendour and magnificence with which they were performed, by taking a view of the temples, statues, &c. of the deities to whom they were consecrated. Those of Jupiter at Olympia, which alone relate to my present subject, are thus described by Pausanias, in the fifth book of his journey through Greece.

The temple of Jupiter, 'says he, 'is erected on a consecrated piece of ground, called the Altis, an antique word, appropriated to this sacred inclosure, and made use of by Pindar', who tells us that this hallowed area was set apart and dedicated to Jupiter by Hercules himself. The temple is

<sup>1</sup> Lib. v. 9 Olymp, Od. 10.

built in the Doric order, and surrounded on the outside with a peristule or colonnade. The whole edifice is composed of a beautiful sort of marble 3 found in that country. Its height to the roof is sixty-eight feet, its breadth ninety-five, and its length two hundred and thirty. The architect was Libon, a native of that country. This temple is not covered with earthen tiles burnt, but with marble brought from Mount Pentelicus, near Athens, and cut in the form of tiles 4. On each corner of the roof is placed a gilded vase, and on the top of the pediment a statue of Victory, gilded likewise, under which is hung up a golden shield, with the figure of the Gorgon Medusa carved upon it. The inscription on the shield imports it to have been a gift of the Tanagreans, who, being in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Of this stone or marble, called *porus*, Theophrasius, and Pliny after him, informs us, that it resembled Parian marble in colour and hardness, but was not so heavy.

<sup>4</sup> The art of cutting marble into tiles was so extraordinary, that Byza of Naxus, who first invented it, thought proper to perpetuate the honour of his invention by an inscription, which may be seen in Pausanias.

The famous temple of Minerva at Ahlens seems, by Wheeler's description of it, to have recembled this in so many particulars, that we may, by reading that description, be enabled more clearly to understand this given by Pausuaius of the temple of Olympian Jupiter. They were both probably built about the same time, and each of them adorned with a statue made by the same admirable artist. Wheeler snys, that the height of the columns, which run round the temple of Minerva, were forty-two feet; whence by the rules of architecture some judgment may be formed of the whole height of that temple, and perhaps some probable conjecture of the height of this, which Pausanias says was sixty-eight feet, but whether to the top or the bottom of the pediment, I leave the learned to determine.

alliance with the Lacedæmonians, and having obtained a victory over the Argives and Athenians near Tanagra, lad consecrated the tenth of the spoils to Jupiter Olympius. On the cornice, which runs round the temple on the outside over the columns, are hung one and twenty gilt shields, a present of Mummius the Roman general, who conquered the Achaians, and took and destroyed Corintt.

'In the front pediment is a piece of sculpture, whose subject is the contest between Chomaiis and Pelops in the chariot race: each of whom is represented as ready, and just upon the point of entering on the course. In the middle is a figure of Jupiter; on his right-hand stands Chomaiis, with a helmet on his head, and near him his wife Sterope, one of the daughters of Atlas. Before the horses, which are four in number, appears Myrtilus, the charioteer of Chomais, and behind him stand two other men, who 's, though their

<sup>5</sup> It appears from this passage, and some others in Pausanias, that the ancient Greeks, among whom the arts of statuary and painting, at least the former, were carried to a perfection not yet equalled by the moderns, thought it no diagrace to the finest performances in each of those kinds, to add the names under the several figures, or a general inscription explaining the subject, and pointing out the principal personages therein represented. Whether this was any real diffigurement to those admirable works, I will not take npon me to determine; but it certainly was of use, especially in historical pieces, intended to deliver down to posterly the memory of any great action, and the chief persons concerned in it. Pausanias himself, who seems to bave been a very learned antiquarian, found the davantage of those little explanatory inscriptions in many instances, as might early be allowe.

names are not inscribed, seem to be two grooms attending on the horses of Enomaüs. In the corner of the pediment is represented the Cladeus, a river which next to the Alpheus is held in the greatest honour by the Eleans. On the left hand of Jupiter stand Pelops and Hippodamia, the charioteer of Pelops, his horses and two grooms, and in the angle is figured the river Alpheus. This whole piece of sculpture is the workmanship of Pæonius of Menda, a city of Thrace; but that in the pediment of the back-front was done by Acalmenes, who lived in the time of Phidias, and was second to him alone in art and genins. In this pediment is represented the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ at the marriage of Pirithous. In the middle of the piece stands Pirithous; near him, on one side, appears Eurytion carrying off the bride, and Caneus coming to the assistance of Pirithous: on the other side, Theseus with his battle-axe combating the Centaurs. Among the Centaurs is one represented running away with a young virgin, and another carrying off a beautiful boy. This subject, as I imagine, was chosen by Acalmenes, because Pirithous, as he had learned from Homer, was the son of Jupiter; and Theseus was the fourth in descent from Pelops. Over the gates of the temple, in like manner, are exhibited most of the labours of Hercules, as the hunting of the Erymanthian boar, the story of the Thracian Diomede, and of Geryon. In one piece Hercules is represented as going to case Atlas of his burden, and in another as cleansing the stable of Augeas. Over the gates, on the back part of the temple, the same hero is seen fighting with an Amazon, from whom he tears away her belt : there also are figured the stories of the hind, of the Gnossian bull, the Lernæan hydra, the Stymphalian birds, and the Nemean lion.

'As you enter into the temple through the brazen gates, you perceive on your right hand, standing before a column, a statue of Iphitus and his wife Ecechiria, who is putting a crown on the head of her husband. In the inside of the temple also are ranges of columns, which form porticos (or isles) of a great height; between which you pass on to the statue of Olympian Jupiter. There is also a winding stair-case leading up to the roof.

'The statue of the god, which is composed of gold and ivory, is seated on a throne, with a crown upon his head, resembling the leaves and branches of a wild olive. In his right hand he bears a statue of Victory, composed likewise of ivory and gold, holding in her hand a sacred fillet or diadem, and wearing a crown upon her head. In his left-hand is a sceptre of exquisite beauty, inlaid with all sorts of metals, and bearing an eagle perched upon it. The sandals of the god, as also his robe, are of gold. The latter wrought over with all sorts of animals and flowers, particularly lilies. The throne is diversified with gold and precious stones, with ebony and ivory, and painted with the representations of divers kinds of animals. About it also are many figures in sculpture; four Victories, for instance, in the attitude of dancers, round the upper part of each leg of the throne, and two more at each of the feet. On those legs also, which support the forepart of the throne, are carved sphinxes devouring the Theban children, and under the sphinxes, Apollo and Diana slaying with their arrows the children of Niobe. Between the legs of the throne run four pieces, in the nature of braces. Upon that which fronts the entrance are seven figures: the eighth by some unknown accident has disappeared. Those figures exhibit a representation of such exercises as were practised of old in the Olympic Games, before boys were admitted to contend in them. Tradition, however, informs us. that the figure, which is binding its head with a fillet or diadem, resembled Pantarces, an Elean boy, with whom Phidias was enamoured, and who, in the class of boys, gained the wrestler's crown in the eighty-sixth Olympiad. On the other braces is represented Hercules with his band of warriors fighting against the Amazons. The number of figures in both groups is twenty-nine: Theseus is placed among the assistants of Hercules. throne, besides its own proper legs, is supported likewise by four columns, of an equal height with the legs, and placed between them. No one is permitted to go under the throne, to view it in the inside, as is allowed at Amyclæ, where I had liberty to view the inside of Apollo's throne. But at Olympia the throne of Jupiter is inclosed by a kind of wall, on purpose to keep the spectators at a distance. That part of the wall which faces the gates of the temple is stained with one colour only, namely, a sky-blue; the other parts are painted by Panænus, who in one piece hath represented Atlas bearing up the heavens, and Hercules standing by. and offering to ease him of his load : in others are seen Theseus and Pirithous; a figure of Greece. and another of Salamis, holding in her hand one of

those ornaments that are usually placed either on the head or stern of a ship. In others are represented the combat of Hercules with the Nemeau lion; the violence offered by Ajax to Cassandra; Hippodamia, the daughter of Enomaiis, together with her mother; and Prometheus bound down with chains, and Hercules looking on him. For Hercules, among the other exploits attributed to him, is reported to have released Prometheus from his bonds, and to have killed the eagle which was sent to punish him on Mount Caucasus, where he lay bound. The last piece presents Penthesilea giving up the ghost, and Achilles supporting her; and two of the Hesperides, bringing some of the golden apples, which were committed to their custody.

'This Panænus was the brother of Phidias, and the same who at Athens, in the portico called Pœcile, painted the action of Marathon.

On the upper part of the throne, over the head of Jupiter, Phidias has placed on one side the Graces; and the Hours (or Seasons) on the other; each, three in number, and alike daughters of Jupiter, according to the poets. The footstool of the god is adorned with golden lions, and a representation of the battle between Theseus and the Amazons; the first exploit of the Atheniaus against a foreign enemy. The basis, or pedestal, which sustains the whole work, is emiched with many other ornaments, and figures in gold, all of which have some relation to Jupiter; as the sun mounting his chariot, attended by Jupiter and Juno, and one of the Graces, next to whom stands Mercury, and next to Mercury, Vesta. After Vesta is seen Cupid

receiving Venus rising out of the sea, and the goddess Persuasion placing a crown on the head of Venus. Here also are the figures of Apollo and Diana, of Minerva and Hercules, and on the lowest part of the basis, Neptune and Amphitrite, and the moon riding on a horse; for I take it to be a horse, though, according to others, that goddess is carried by a mule, and not a horse. I am not ignorant that some people have undertaken to give the exact dimensions of this statue of Jupiter Olynipius, yet I cannot applaud their skill, since it appears to the eye much larger than the dimensions assigned by them. The Eleans tell us, that Jupiter himself bore testimony to the art of Phidias, for that statuary, when he had completed his work, begged of Jupiter to give some token of his anprobation, if he was pleased with the performance: upon which, say they, the pavement was immediately struck with lightning, in that place, upon which a brazen urn is still to be seen as a memorial of the miracle. That part of the pavement which is immediately before the statue is composed of black marble, surrounded with a circular rim of Parian marble, raised about it like a step, on purpose to contain the oil that is poured into it, in order to preserve the ivory from being injured by the damps arising out of the ground; the Altis, where the temple is erected, being wet and marshy.

To this passage, translated from Pausanias, I shall add another, taken from Strabo , in which are some particulars relating to this famous statue and the temple, worthy of our observation;

<sup>6</sup> Lib. viii.

'The temple' says he, 'stands in the Piscan division, little less than three hundred stadia distant from Elis; before it is a grove of wild olives. within which lies the Olympic stadium; by it passes the river Alpheus, running from Arcadia southwest into the Triphylian sea. Olympia at first derived its reputation from the oracle of Olympian Jupiter; and though this oracle fell afterwards into decay, yet the temple retained its ancient honour. But its present greatness and magnificence is owing. undoubtedly, to the Olympic Games, and to the number of offerings and donations brought thither from all parts of Greece; among which is a golden statue of Jupiter, presented by Cypselus, tyrant of Corinth. But of all these, the ivory statue of Olympian Jupiter, made by Phidias of Athens, is, by far, the most considerable; the bulk of which is so vast, that the artist seems, in my opinion, to have deviated from the rule of proportion; for although the temple is of the largest size, and the god is represented sitting, yet he almost touches the ceiling with his head; so that were he to rise out of his throne, and stand upright, he would carry the roof along with him 7.

'Phidias was much assisted in the composition, the colours, and particularly in the drapery of this statue, by Panænus, a painter, his brother and fellow-workman; many of whose paintings, and those very admirable, are to be seen up and down the temple. There is a tradition, that Phidias being asked by Panænus, by what pattern or idea he in-

<sup>7</sup> The height of the temple, according to Pausanias, was sixty-eight feet; hence then it appears, that the statue, with its throne and pedestal, was near sixty-eight feet in height.

tended to frame his image of Jupiter, answered, by that given in the following verses of Homer:

> This said, his kingly brow the sire inclin'd, The large black curis fell, awful, from behind, Thick shadowing the stern forchead of the god; Olympus trembted at the almighty nod 8.2

How well the performance answered the great idea of the statuary, may be conjectured from what. Polybius? relates of Lucius Emilius, who, entering into the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, and contemplating the statue, was astonished, and said, that, in his opinion, Phidias was the only man who had succeeded in representing the Jupiter of Homer; and that, though his expectations about Olympia had been raised very high, yet he found they came far short of the truth.

Quintilian remarks of Phidias to, that he succeeded better in the statues of his gods than of his men; and that, in works of ivory, he indisputably excelled all the world; of which, to say nothing of his other performances, the image of Minerva at Athens, and of Jupiter at Olympia, were evident proofs; whose beauty, continues he, seems to have added reverence even to religion itself; so nigh does the majesty of the work approach to that of the Divinity.

Before this statue hung a veil or curtain, of woollen cloth, dyed in Phænician purple ", and enriched with Assyrian embroidery; an offering

<sup>8</sup> First Book of Homer, by Tickell.

<sup>9</sup> In Fragment. Polybii, p. 1015. Edit. Casaub. et apud Suidam, voce Φιμάκε.

<sup>10</sup> Instit. lib. xii. cap. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Pans, ibid.

made by king Antiochus. This curtain is not drawn up to the roof, like that in the temple of Diana at Ephesus, but let down to the pavement,

I shall not follow Pausanias any further, in his account of the many rich votive offerings or donations, sent to Olympia from almost all parts of the heathen world, and lodged in or about the temple and Altis of Jupiter Olympius; or in the temples of other deities; and in buildings called treasuries. erected at Olympia by several states, in order to receive and keep the presents which at any time they had vowed to Jupiter; and perhaps the money destined to defray the expense of the sacrifices to be made at the solemn festival of the Olympic Games. The reader, who is desirons of knowing more of these several particulars, may find them in Pausanias: a French translation of whose journey through Greece, by the Abbé Gedoyn, was published at Amsterdam, in four vols, octavo, in 1733. In the same author he may likewise see a long list of statues of gods and heroes, of Olympic conquerors, emperors, and kings, &c. to give an account of all which, would carry me too far from my subject, and swell this dissertation to an unreasonable bulk. It may be sufficient to observe, that their number was prodigious, and their value almost inestimable; as they were many of them composed of the richest materials, and made by the most eminent statuaries of Greece. What is here said in general, joined to the description of the statue of Olympian Jupiter, the masterpiece of Phidias, and therefore very justly esteemed one of the wonders of the world, may serve to show how liberal and magnificent the Greeks were, in what

related to the worship of their gods; and to give us a just conception of the pomp and splendour of the Olympic Games, the first and the most august of the four great festivals of Greece <sup>12</sup>, by way of eminence styled sacred; a character communicated in some degree to those, who obtained the crowns in the several Games, which were always exhibited in these religious solemnities.

The sacrifices offered to Jupiter upon his festival were answerable to all this magnificence; I say the sacrifices offered at the time of the celebration of the Olympic Games; for though the Eleans <sup>13</sup> paid their devotions to him every day throughout the year, yet Lucian assures us <sup>14</sup> that Jupiter was wont to take it very kindly, if a stranger offered him any sacrifice in the intervals of those games. However, it was then made up to him; for then not the Eleans only, and the candidates for the Olympic crown, but all the principal cities of Greece, made their offerings to the Olympian Jupiter; as may be collected from a passage of Plararch, in his life of Demetrius <sup>15</sup>. These offerings

<sup>12</sup> The other three were the Pythian, Ishinian, and Nemean games.

<sup>13</sup> Paus, lib. v. 14 De Sacris.

<sup>15</sup> That his was a general enstom observed by the Greeks apon their festuala, at the Olympie or Pythian Games, &c. is further evident from the following passage of Livy, who, speaking of the games that L. Æmilius Paulus celebrated at Amphilopils, after his victory over Persus, has these words: 'Nam et artiflem omnis generis, qui Indicram arten faciebant, ex toto orbe terrarum multitudo, et athletarum, et nobilium euporum convenit, et legationes cum victimis, et quidquid alind deorum homlumque causă fieri maguis ludis in Grecia solet.' Liv, Liv, 22.

were committed to the care and conduct of deputies solemnly appointed for that occasion, and named Theôri. How considerable they were, we may, perhaps, in some measure, guess from those prepared by Jason, against the celebration of the Pythian games. This Jason, by a decree of all the people of Thessaly, had been appointed their general 16, a dignity differing in little, besides the name, from that of sovereign; upon the approach of the Pythian Games, he ordered, by a proclamation, all his cities to fat up so many oxen, sheep, goats, and swine; and though he imposed but a moderate quota upon every city, he got together above a thousand oxen, and more than ten times as many smaller cattle. He promised likewise to reward with a crown of gold that person, who should produce the fattest ox, fit to be put at the head of such a herd of victims. I will not say that the offerings of every city in Greece were to be compared to this of Jason. He represented all Thessaly, and, as the deputy or Theorus of a whole people, collected the contributions of the several states or cities. Athens perhaps, and the other principal states of Greece, might do the same for all the cities that were under their jurisdictions. There are also some private reasons assigned, that may account for the extraordinary preparations made by Jason. He is said to have had some thoughts of aspiring to preside at those Games 17, and to hold, by his own authority, the festival in honour of Apollo.

That private persons also, those especially who-

<sup>16</sup> Xen. G. Hist, lib. vi.

<sup>17</sup> Xen. lib. vi.

tiad gained the honour of an Olympic victory, sometimes made very sumptuous sacrifices to Jupiter, may be inferred from what Athenaus relates of Alcibiades, who, having gained the first, second, and fourth prizes in the chariot race, feasted the whole multitude of Grecians, that were gathered together on the account of the Olympic games, with the victims offered to Jupiter. For at all great and solemn sacrifices, the victims were generally shared among those who were invited to the sacrifice, only a small portion of them being consumed upon the altar. And it is probable, that all those, who from several parts of the world were assembled on these occasions at Olympia, were subsisted chiefly by the sacrifices provided by every city of Greece; of one or other of which, every private Grecian had a natural right to partake. This consideration, added to the motives of religion and vanity, whose influence on the Grecians, ever reckoned a superstitious and ostentatious people, was always very powerful, may induce us to conclude, that the whole apparatus of the sacrifices, furnished by every state, was, on this most solemn festival, exceedingly sumptuous and magnificent.

The principal altar <sup>18</sup>, upon which the sacrifices to Jupiter were consumed, was placed in the midway between the temples of Juno and Pelops; and was, by way of eminence, distinguished by the name of the altar of Olympian Jupiter. This altar, as some say, was built by the Idaan Hercules; or, as others, by the heroes of the country,

<sup>18</sup> Paus, lib, v.

about two generations later. It was composed (says Pausanias) of the ashes 19 of the victims, mixed up with the waters of the river Alpheus. No other water would do, as both Plutarch 20 and Pausanias pretend; the scholiast upon Pindar's. tenth Olympic ode says the same thing; and hence is inferred the great affection which Jupiter is saidto have had for that river. These ashes were brought every year on the 19th of March out of the public hall, by the priests or augurs 21; who, tempering them with the waters of Alpheus, made a sort of plaster, wherewith they crusted over the altar. The whole height of this altar was twenty-two feet; to the top of which, where the victims were burnt, the priest ascended by steps. crusted over in like manner with ashes, from the plinth, or lower basis, where the victims were brought and slain: the circumference of this basis was one hundred and twenty-five feet, and to this they mounted by steps of stone.

During the time of sacrifice the altar was crowned with a garland made of the branches of a wild olive 22.

As it was not possible to temper into mortar the ashes with which this altar was incrusted, with anyother water than that of Alpheus, so neither was it lawful to employ, in the burnt sacrifices, any

<sup>19</sup> As the altar could not be composed entirely of that material, Pausanias can only mean in this place, that it was daubed, or crusted over, with a kind of mortar made of ashes; and, indeed, he soon after makes use of a word which imports no more.

<sup>20</sup> Plut. de Orac, def. 21 Pans, lib. 5. 22 Ibid.

ether wood than that of the white poplar. The original of this custom is derived from Hercules, the son of Alemena, who first brought that tree into Greece, and made use of that wood only in the sacrifices, which he offered to Olympian Jupiter. Among the ministers or servants of the altar, there was one, whose business it was to furnish those who came to sacrifice, as well cities as private people, with these holy faggots, at a certain price.

Besides this statue and altar, thus peculiarly belonging to the Olympian Jupiter, there were many more, both altars and statues, erected to the same god, under different appellations; but as they have no relation to the Olympic Games, I shall pass on (without taking any further notice of them) to, some others, that always bore a part in the solemnities of this festival. The chief of these were six altars, consecrated 23 by Hercules to twelve. gods, who were always worshipped, two at each altar, by the conquerors in the Olympic Games. The first altar was dedicated to Jupiter and Neptune, the second to Juno and Minerva, the third to Mercury and Apollo, the fourth to Bacchus and the Graces, the fifth to Diana and Alpheus, the sixth to Saturn and Rhea.

There were, besides, several other altars, upon, which the Eleans sacrificed on these occasions; whose names, as well as the order of the sacrifices, may be seen in Pausanias. To these may be added others, upon which, it is reasonable to suppose, some or other of the competitors for the Olympic

<sup>26</sup> Schol, ad Pind. Olymp. Od. 6.

, olive made their offerings, according as the office: of the several divinities, to whom they were consecrated, related to the exercises in which they were severally to engage. Of this number was the altar of Mercury, called Enagonius, from his presiding over the gymnastic exercises; this, with another sacred to Opportunity, was placed near the entrance of the studium. The altar of the nymphs, surnamed Callistephani, or the nymphs presiding over the crowns of victory. The altars of Good Fortune, of Victory, of Taraxippus, of Neptune, of Castor and Pollux, and many others. And, indeed, there was not a deity in the whole Grecian calendar, who had not either a temple or an altar erected in the Altis, or sacred territory of Jupiter: as if the Eleans had resolved that their Jupiter should be in every thing the copy of Jupiter in Homer: and appear at Olympia with as large a train of deities, as was accustomed to attend his summons upon Mount Olympus 24.

The Ecechiria, or cessation of arms, which always accompanied the celebration of the Olympic Games, comes properly under the head of religion, as it owed its original to the authority of the Delphic oracle; and the religious strictness, with which it seems in most instances to have been observed, to the pious respect and veneration with which the Greeks regarded the august solemnity of the Olympic festival. All the cities of Greece, as I have already shown, paid their devotions to Jupiter upon this festival; which, however, in the time of war, some of them must have been necessitated

<sup>24</sup> See Had, xx.

to neglect, had not the god opened the passages to his altar, and allowed a safe conduct to his votaries, by enjoining a forbearance of hostilities to all those who were willing to partake of the games instituted to his honour.

It appears from a passage of Thucydides, which I shall produce in a following section, that the Eleans first proclaimed this cessation of arms in their own territories, and then in the cities of those states with whom they were at war; and that it took place from the time of the first proclamation of it at Elis. This was the method when the Eleans themselves happened to be engaged in a war; and I suppose that the same method was observed, even when the Eleans were at peace; the cessation was proclaimed first in Elis, and then in those states which were at war with each other, who were obliged to forbear all acts of hostility from the date of that proclamation; which might easily have been known, if the duration of this truce was fixed and certain, as most probably it was. But, upon both these points, we are reduced to mere conjecture; no ancient writer, that I know of, having given us any clear account of either. The Games. strictly speaking, held but five days; but the candidates for the Olympic crown were obliged to repair to Elis, at least thirty days before the Games; yet, I think, it cannot from thence be certainly inferred, that the cessation commenced thirty days before that festival; though, if it did not, we must suppose that a free passage was granted, on all sides, to those who had entered their names as candidates for the Olympic crown; which they were obliged to do, some time before they repaired in

person to Elis. Perhaps a careful examination of the progress of the Peloponnesian war, a minute detail of which is given by Thucydides, might throw some light upon this matter; but as I have not leisure for such an inquiry, I shall leave it to those who may think it worth their while to engage in it 25. A cessation of hostilities for some time, both before and after the Olympic Games, was doubtless necessary; and the advantages accruing from it to the whole Grecian name were so apparent and so considerable, that the Eleans thought proper to distinguish Iphitus, the author of it, by crecting a statue to him, even in the temple of Olympian Jupiter, with another emblematical figure (for so I take it to have been) of a woman named Ecechiria (a Greek word, signifying a cessation of arms) placing a crown upon his head.

Though, with respect to the other states of Greece, the tranquillity enacted by the laws of the Olympic Games was but short and temporary, the people of Elis had it in their power to enjoy the felicity even of a perpetual peace, had they been wise enough to know how to use or value their immunities. War could never approach their territories, without drawing down upon the invader 20 the vengeance of Jupiter. For Oxylus, being by the Heraclides reinstated in Elis, the kingdom of his ancestors, and appointed guardian or curator of the temple of Jupiter Olympins, obtained of them, under the sanction of an oath, that the whole district of Elis should be consecrated to Jupiter; and that not only those who should invade it, but

<sup>25</sup> See Thueyd, lib. v. c. 49. 26 Strabo, lib. viii.

those who also should not defend it when invaded. should be deemed accursed. Hence it came to pass, that the Eleans not only neglected to fortify Elis and their other towns, but gave themselves up so entirely to agriculture and the pleasures of a country life, that how wealthy soever they were grown, they could not, as Polybius observes, be drawn from thence 27 to inhabit their towns. The consequence was, that Elis indeed grew rich and populous; but as at the same time it lay naked and defenceless, those riches served only to invite an enemy, and that populousness did but augment the calamity of war; which, nevertheless, would hardly have fallen upon them, had they not, of their own accord, departed from the sanctity of their character; and broken down those fences of religion, which the oracle, and the general consent of all Greece, had planted round them, They could not, it seems, be contented with peace, though the greatest of all blessings, while it shackled their ambition; nor were they willing to provide sufficiently against a war, at the expense of forsaking their old manner of living: to which, even in the midst of war, they were entirely addicted: they were, therefore, very justly censured by that wise historian, for baving so inconsiderately lost their immunities; and very wisely admonished by him, to retire once more within that magic circle, which, in his opinion, none would have been suffered to pass over with impunity, had any one been daring and impious enough to have attempted it.

They enjoyed their tranquillity, however, for a

considerable time, with some few interruptions; occasioned by a dispute between them, the Piseans and Arcadians, relating to the superintendency of the Olympic Games 28. Yet so great a regard did the Grecians in general pay to these holy people 29, that when any troops were to march through their territories, upon their entering into the borders of the Eleans, they delivered up their arms, which were restored to them again upon their quitting that country 30. This state of security and peace, while the other cities of Greece were confounding and destroying each other with mutual and intestine wars 31, was accompanied with great simplicity and innocence of manners, the usual attendants of a country life; and Elis, the earthly kingdom of Jupiter, seems in this point also to have resembled his heavenly dominions; from whence, as we are told by Homer 32, that deity had for ever banished Até, the goddess of discord and injustice.

# SECTION IV.

## OF THE OLYMPIAD.

THOUGH the great advantages accruing to history from the institution of the Olympiad be universally acknowledged, yet have historians taken no notice of its original They have told us, indeed, that it

<sup>28</sup> Pans, lib, v. 30 Strab. lib. viii.

<sup>29</sup> Pans. lib. xv. 31 Poly b. 1ib. iv.

<sup>32</sup> Iliad. Pope's T. xix.

was instituted by Iphitus, and that it was a period or cycle of four years. The ridiculous reason as-signed for it by Pausanias, would induce one to believe that they knew no more; and yet it is certain, that the Tetraeteris, or period of four years, was almost as old as the religions of Greece, being used in divers of their sacra, or religious festivals ': as the Panathenæa, Musæa, and many other, besides the Olympic Games. The silence of the ancient historians upon this point is so remarkable. that a learned modern 2, who has been at infinite pains to settle the chronology of the ancients, takes great glory to himself for having discovered the true source of this sacred period; and unravelled all the intricacies of the Olympiad. From him, therefore, I shall borrow chiefly what I have to say upon this head.

The Greeks, inquiring of the Delphic oracle concerning their solemn feasts and sacrifices, received for answer, that they would do well to sacrifice κωίω τὰ Πώτρω κωὶ καξὰ Τρία, according to three things. Which last words they interpreted to signify days, months, and years. They accordingly set themselves about regulating their years by the sun, and their months and days by the appearances of the moon 3. By this method, they were in hopes so to order their festivals, and times of sacrifice, as always to make their offerings precisely upon the same days, and the same months in the year; which, they imagrined, would be pleasing

I Sir I, Newton's Chron. p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Jo. Scaliger, Anhnad. ad Eus. Chron. No. 1241,

<sup>3</sup> Geminus apud Sir I. Newton Chron. p. 72.

and acceptable to the gods, and consequently believed that to be the intention of the oracle. This, however, could only happen when the solstitial conversions of the sun, and the equinoctials, should return to the same places in the calendar year, After trying in vain many forms and combinations of years, in order to fulfil the oracle, they at length hit upon one, which seemed to them admirably calculated to solve all difficulties, and answer their purpose. Their year was made to consist of 360 days, with two additional days; and their months of thirty days each; from one of which, however, in the course of four years, they took a day; by this means their Tetraeteris amounted to 1447 days. Sometimes a whole month was intercalated. and then the Tetraeteris consisted of 1477 days. And thus they flattered themselves that they had punctually fulfilled the oracle; for they sacrificed according to the year and the month, because the month was full, as consisting of thirty days; and the years thus made up of complete months, by means of these intercalations, returned to their beginnings, at least pretty near the matter, And this is the reason that the great festivals of the Greeks were solemnized every fifth year, after an interval of four complete years; as, for example, the Panathenæa at Athens, and the Olympic Games in Elis, which were celebrated every fifth year upon the full of the moon. This last circumstance Pindar alone hath discovered to us; and his scholiast at the same time informs us, that those Games were sometimes celebrated in the nine and

<sup>4</sup> Olym, Ode 3,

fortieth, and sometimes in the fiftieth month; that is, sometimes in the month which the Eleans call Apollonius; and sometimes in that named by them Parthenius; which seem to answer to our months of July and August. Accordingly we find by Scaliger's tables, that the Olympic new moon fell sometimes in the middle or latter end of July, and sometimes in the beginning of August, for that festival never preceded the summer solstice; which the ancients placed always upon the ninth of July, so that the Olympic moon was the first new moon after the summer solstice. This gave birth to the intercalary month, and occasioned the variation in the Tetraeteris, which consisted sometimes of forty-eight months, and sometimes of forty-nine.

This is the doctrine of the Olympiad, without a perfect knowledge of which, it will be but labour lost, says Scaliger, to go about settling the Grecian chronology.

And indeed, as the Olympiad is the only era which the Greek writers make use of, it will be difficult for a man to understand the dates of facts mentioned by their historians, or to accommodate their chronology to that of other nations, without his previously knowing both the precise time of the year on which every new Olympiad began, and the number of years and months of which that period consisted.

But how necessary a thorough understanding of the Olympiad is to those, in particular, who engage in chronological inquiries, may be easily imagined from its great usefulness in such kind of searches; the consideration of which, transported the great Scaliger almost beyond his sense and reason. For

having pursued his inquiry from the first original. or chaos, if I may so speak, of history, amid the glimmerings of an ambiguous and allegorical tradition, the monsters of a fabulous and hieroglyphic age, and the devious and perplexed conjectures of chronologists, coming at last to the Olympiads, like one, who, after having wandered all night in a wide and pathless forest, unexpectedly discovers, at break of day, a fair and open causeway leading through a rich and cultivated country, thick set with towns and villages, breaks out into the following rapture : 'O! how fortunate is it, that the ancient Greeks should take it into their heads to celebrate, with so much devotion, every fifth year, their Olympic Games. Hail! venerable Olympiad! thou guardian of dates and eras! Assertrix of historical truth, and curb of the fanatical licentiousness of chronologists! were it not for thee, all things would still be covered under the black veil of darkness; since there are many, even at this day, whose eyes are dazzled and blinded at thy lustre! By thy means, not those things only, that have happened since thy institution, but those also that were done before thee, are brought to light; as the destruction of Troy, the return of the Heraclides. the Ionic migration, and many other; for the knowledge of which we are indebted to thy divine assistance: by the help of which, also, we are enabled to fix the dates and epochas of the holy scriptures! notwithstanding what silly and ignorant people advance, who say, that without the holy scriptures there would be no coming at the knowledge of thy epocha; than which nothing can be imagined more absurd and monstrous.'

But notwithstanding this enthusiastic exclamation, chronologers are far from being agreed about the precise time upon which the Olympiads began; some dating them from the victory of Corœbus the Elean, and others 5 throwing their original thirteen, and even eight and twenty Olympiads backwarder. But this was done by the artificial chronologers, who, to accommodate the Olympiads to their systems and computations, have added to their antiquity 112 years, as Sir I. Newton 6 observes. This great man has thought it worth his while to examine their hypothesis, and to endeavour to establish the old chronology upon surer and better principles. I will not presume to say whether he has succeeded in his endeavours or not: that must be decided by far much abler and more learned men. In the meantime, I think it a piece of homage due to the acknowledged supremacy, if I may so speak, of his abilities, from one who in this case must submit to the authority of others, to prefer the authority of Sir I. Newton, before that of any other name in the world.

Chronologists, however, in all their computations, agree to reckon downward from that Olympiad in which Corcebus the Elean was conqueror; with whom also the list of conquerors begins. This list is very useful, since the Greek writers frequently mark the Olympiad by no other designation than the name of the conqueror.

Before I conclude this section, it will not be amiss to take notice, that Eusebius tells us from Africanus, that the word Olympia, in the Egyptian

<sup>5</sup> Eus. Chron.

<sup>6</sup> Chron. p. 57.

language, signifies the moon; which was so called, because once in every month she runs through the Zodiac, named Olympus by the old Egyptians. This etymology of the Olympiad, though mentioned by no other author, will appear the more probable, when we consider that the Olympiad was a lunar cycle, corrected, indeed, by the course of the sun; and that the Greeks had their Tetraeteris from Egypt?; out of which fertile nursery they likewise originally transplanted their arts and sciences, their learning and philosophy, their religion and their gods.

### SECTION V.

OF THE HELLANODICS, OR PRESIDENTS OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

The right of presiding at the Olympic Games was attended with such dignity and power, that the Eleans, who had been in possession of it even from the time of Iphitus, were more than once obliged to maintain their title by force of arms against their neighbours and rivals, the Pisæans and Arcadians: whose pretensions, though founded, as Diodorus Siculus' observes, upon no better authorities than old fables and antiquated precedents, were yet esteemed, by these envious or ambitious people, sufficient to authorize a war, and justify their breaking through those sacred laws, which enjoined a

1 Lib. xv. c. 9.

<sup>7</sup> See Scaliger in Eus. Chron, and Newton's Chron.

cessation of arms to all the states of Greece during the Olympic festival2: for in one of these quarrels, the Pisæans, joining with the Arcadians, who were then at war with the Eleans, entered the territories of Elis at the very time of the celebration of the Olympic Games; and being met by the Eleans, who immediately took to their arms, there ensued a very sharp engagement, in the view of all the Grecians, who were assembled from all parts to see the Games: and who stood peaceably and aloof from danger, with their garlands upon their heads, looking upon the battle; and distinguishing, by acclamations and applauses, every action of bravery on either side. The Pisæans, in the conclusion, having obtained the victory, presided for that time over the solemnity; but the Eleans, afterwards recovering their privilege, left that Olympiad out of their register. They had twice or thrice before obliterated, in like manner, those Olympiads in which the Pisæans had presided; till, irritated at length by the frequent revival of these groundless pretensions, supported only by violence, they, in their turn, made an irruption into the country of the Pisæans, and destroyed the city of Pisa so utterly, that, Pausanias says, in his time there was not so much as a ruin remaining; the whole space of ground, upon which that city had stood, being converted into a vineyard. The city of Olympia, indeed, was in the territory of the Pisæans 3, but was taken from them by the Heraclides; (who, upon their return, made a new division of the Peloponnesus) and was given to the

<sup>2</sup> ib. xv. c. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Strab. lib. viii.

Eleans. The Pisæans might from hence derive nelaim to Olympia; but could never found any right of superintending those Games, of which the Eleans were the founders, as Strabo observes, and over which they were appointed to preside by the express commands of the Delbhic oracle.

The office of Hellanodic, or president, was at first exercised by Iphitus alone 4, and continued for the space of two hundred years to be executed by a single person, who was always of the family of Oxylus: but in the fiftieth Olympiad the superintendency of the Games was committed to two. chosen by lot out of the whole body of the Eleans; and in the 75th, the number was increased to nine ; three of which had the direction of the equestrian exercises, three presided at the pentathlon, and the remaining three had the inspection of the other Games. Two Olympiads after, a tenth was added; and in the one hundred and third Olympiad, the college of Hellanodies consisted of twelve, answering to the tribes of the Eleans, out of each of which was chosen one Hellanodic. The Arcadians shortly after, having vanguished the Eleans, took from them part of their territory; by which means the number of their tribes, and that of the Hellanodics, was reduced to eight; but in the one hundred and eighth Olympiad they returned to the former number of ten, and kept to it ever after,

I cannot find precisely at what time the Hellanodics entered into office; nor how long they continued in it. Pausanius informs us, that for ten months preceding the Games they dwelt together

<sup>4</sup> Paus, lib. v.

at Elis, in a house appointed for them, and from thence called the Hellanodiceum: at which time, I think, one may very reasonably fix the date of their commission. These ten months they employ-ed in qualifying themselves for the high and important character of judges of all Greece, as their title imports: for which end they were carefully instructed in every particular of their duty by a set of officers, called the guardians of the laws; and attended daily in the Gymnasium upon the preparatory exercises of all those who were admitted to be candidates for the Olympic crown. These were obliged to enter their names at least ten months before that festival, and to employ part, if not the whole, of that time at Elis, in exercising themselves; as shall be set forth more fully in a following section. This time of preparation was not more serviceable to the candidates than to the Hellanodics themselves; who were by these means furnished with frequent opportunities of trying their own abilities, exerting their authority, and sliding, as it were, imperceptibly into the exercise of that office, which, as it placed them upon a tribunal to which all Greece was subject, exposed them at the same time to the observation and scrutiny of a most awful and innumerable assembly, whose censure they could not hope to escape, but by the strictest and most exact impartiality.

But as there are other requisites Iowards the obtaining the character of a wise and impartial judge, besides the knowledge and practice of the laws, the Hellanodics took all imaginable precautions to keep their judgments from any bias, by prohibiting any of their colleagues from contending in the equestrian exercises; by making it a law to themselves, not to open any of the recommendatory letters brought to them by the Athletes till after the contest was over; and by laying themselves under the obligation of an oath, to proceed according to the strictest equity in those cases wherein they were left to the direction of their consciences alone 6. This oath was administered to them in the senate-house of the Eleans, before the statue of Jupiter Horcius, upon their finishing the examination of the boys, and the under-aged horses, that offered themselves to contend in the Olympic stadium; the reason of which shall be assigned in another place. That they were sworn also upon their entering into office is very probable, though not mentioned by any author. Another check upon the Hellanodics was the liberty allowed to any one who thought himself aggrieved, of appealing from their sentence to the Senate of Elis; an instance of which is to be met with in Pausanias. Eupolimus, an Elean, having been declared victor in the foot-race by two of the three Hellanodics who presided over that exercise, and the third having given sentence in favour of his antagonist, Leon of Ambracia, Leon appealed to the Senate of Elis, and accused the two Hellanodics of corruption. It appears, however, that their sentence was ratified by the Senate; since we find the name of Eupolimus in the list of conquerors, and an account in Pausanias of a statue erected to him in Olympia.

Their allowing their countrymen to dispute the prize with those of other nations, was objected to

<sup>6</sup> Paus, lib. v.

the Eleans by a king of Egypt 7, to whom, in the pride of their integrity, they had sent an embassy to give an account of the Olympic Games; and to set forth the consummate equity of the laws and ordinances of that institution. That monarch was persuaded they could never preserve their boasted impartiality, when the glory of one of their own countrymen came into competition with that of a stranger; and therefore advised them to amend their institution, by excluding all Eleans: but they did not think fit to follow his advice; and assured themselves, perhaps, that over and above the particular and private obligations of conscience, interest, and honour, the consideration of the greater glory that would accrue to their country from a disinterested and universal impartiality in their awards, would more than countervail the advantages, whether public or private, which might arise from the victory or renown of one of their countrymen. However they might reason, they most certainly acted well; as may be inferred no less from the concurrent testimony, than from the absolute submission of all Greece to their authority and decrees.

The direction and ordering of all matters relating to the Olympic festival, the proclaiming the cessation of arms, the excluding from the sacrifices those who had incurred the penalty of excomnunication by refusing to submit to their censures; the increasing or diminishing the number of the exercises, &c. belonged, as I imagine, to the Hellanodics, as well as the superintending the

<sup>7</sup> Herodot, lib. ii.

Games, and bestowing the olive-crown; for I understand those authors, who attribute these powers to the Eleans in general, to mean the Hellanodics, who were, for that time and occasion, the delegates and representatives of the Eleans.

This power of excommunicating those who were refractory or contunacious, which seems to have been exercised upon whole nations rather than particular persons, gave the Hellanodics great dignity and authority among the several people of Greece; as the corporal punishments and pecuniary penalties inflicted by their orders upon private offenders, held even the greatest in dread of infringing the Olympic laws; and kept in order that vast assembly, which was composed of men of all ranks and degrees, and of every region and colony of Greece.

That the Hellanodics, in the public execution of their office, were clothed in purple robes, and carried in their hands that usual ensign of magistracy, a wand or sceptre, seems very probable, from several passages collected by Faber, in his Agonisticon 3; who would infer, likewise, from some other passages cited by him, that they wore crowns; which I will not dispute any otherwise than by observing, that from one of those passages, which I have quoted at the beginning of this section, it appears, that all the Grecians who assisted at the Olympic Games, were adorned with crowns or garlands; and, I believe, that ormament was generally worn by all who attended at any public searifice.

<sup>9</sup> Lib. i.

The Hellanodics took their stations at different parts of the stadium. By the Hellanodics in this place, I mean those committees of them, if I may so speak, who were appointed to superintend the several exercises; who were consequently obliged to attend them, in those parts of the stadium where they were exhibited. The others, I suppose, remained in their proper place?, over-against the priestess of Ceres. The senior Hellanodic had the precedency of the rest.

I shall not detain the reader with enumerating the subordinate officers; they will be occasionally introduced in the following sections: but shall proceed to exemplify the authority of this high tribunal, and the regard paid to it by all Greece, from one or two instances mentioned by the historians.

The first I shall borrow from Pausanias <sup>10</sup>. Calippus, an Athenian, having been convicted of corrupting with money his adversaries in the exercise of the pentathlon, the Hellanodics imposed a considerable fine upon each of the offenders: the Athenians, being informed of this sentence, out of regard to their fellow-citizen, deputed Hyperides, one of their greatest orators, to go to the Eleans, and intreat them to remit the fine: but they were not to be moved, either by the rhetoric of Hyperides, or the haughtiness of the Athenians; who, with great disdain, refused to submit to the decree, though for that refusal they were excluded the Olympic Games, till they were told by the Delphic oracle, that the god would not youchsafe them any

<sup>9</sup> Paus, lib. vi. 10 Lib. y.

answer to their inquiries, unless they paid the penalty demanded by the Eleans. The Athenians submitted, and the Eleans with the money erected six statues to Olympic Jupiter.

The next is taken out of Thucydides; and, though somewhat long, tends to illustrate so many particulars relating to my subject, that I cannot for-

bear inserting it at large.

This summer were celebrated the Olympic Games; in which Androsthenes, the Arcadian. bore away the prize for the first time in the Pancratium; and the Lacedæmonians were by the Eleans excluded the festival; and not permitted either to sacrifice or contend in the Games, because they refused to pay the penalty which the Eleans. agreeably to the Olympic laws, had imposed upon them, for having attacked a certain castle named Phyrcus, and put soldiers into Lepreus during the Olympic truce. The Lacedæmonians on their part asserted, by their ambassadors, that they were condemned unjustly; alleging, that the truce had not been notified in Sparta, at the time of their sending their troops to Lepreus. The Eleans on the other hand pretended, that the truce had at that very time taken place with them; that they always proclaim it first in their own territories; and that having, under the sanction of that truce, laid down their arms, and expected no further hostilities, the Lacedæmonians had taken that opportunity to do them an injury, as it were, by stealth. In answer to this, it was urged by the Lacedæmonians, that the Eleans, after they had thought themselves injured by the Lacedæmonians, ought not to have notified the truce at all at Sparta; which never-

theless, as if they had then no such opinion of the matter, they had done, after which notification the Lacedæmonians had not committed any hostilities. But the Eleans still adhered to their decree, and would never be induced to own that the Lacedæmonians had done them no wrong. They offered, however, if they would deliver up Lepreus, to remit their own share of the fine, and to lay down for them that portion of it which belonged to Jupiter. The Lacedæmonians not consenting to this proposal, the Eleans further offered, that the Lacedæmonians should not be obliged to deliver up Lepreus, contrary to their inclinations, provided they would go up to the altar of Olympian Jupiter, since they were so desirous of partaking in the sacrifice, and there, in the presence of all the Greeks, swear that they would afterwards pay the penalty imposed upon them. But neither to this proposal would the Lacedæmonians agree; wherefore they were excluded the festival, the sacrifices, and the games; and made the accustomed offerings to Olympian Jupiter in their own territories; while all the other states of Greece, except that of Lepreus, sent their offerings by a solemn deputation to Olympia. The Eleans, however, fearing the Lacedæmonians might attempt by open violence to perform their sacrifices, kept their young men under arms upon constant guard; to whose assistance the city of Argos sent a thousand soldiers, and Mantinea another thousand; there were also some Athenian horse quartered in Argos during the festival.

There happened also another circumstance, which put the whole assembly into a great conster-

nation, lest the Lacedæmonians should fall upon them. One Lichas, a Lacedæmonian, the son of Arcesilans, was scourged publicly in the stadium by the officers appointed for that purpose; because, his chariot having obtained the victory, and having in the proclamation of the conquerors been declared to belong to the Thebans, (the Lacedæmonians being at that time excluded the Games) he had entered the stadium, and with his own hand placed a chaplet on the head of his charioteer: giving to understand by that action, that the chariot belonged to him. Every body, therefore, was exceedingly alarmed; and concluded that this affair would have some very extraordinary consequence. The Lacedæmonians, however, kept quiet; and the festival passed over without any disturbance.

I shall close this section with an observation, that arises naturally from these two last cited passages ; viz. That the great dignity and authority of the Hellanodics was founded solely upon this power of excommunication; in the exercise of which, however derived to them at the beginning. they were supported by the joint concurrence of the gods, as well as of the men of Greece. On' the one hand, we behold the states of Athens, Argos, and Mantinea, sending troops to maintain their sentence against the Lacedæmonians; and the Delphic orator, on the other, refusing to give any answers to the Athenians, till the fine imposed by the Hellanodics upon one of their citizens was discharged. Thus were the two most powerful and martial states of Greece subjected, in their turns, to the authority of a petty and unwarlike people; which, possibly, we should have some difficulty to believe, were there not many modern examples of mightier, if not wiser nations, than either of the two above-mentioned, having been awed into a submission to a power still more insignificant than that of Elis, by the same edgeless arms, the same brutum fulmen. Whether the thunders of the Vatican were forged in imitation of those of Olympian Jupiter, I will not determine; though I must take notice, that many of the customs and ordinances of the Roman church allude most evidently to many practised in the Olympic stadium, as extreme unction, the palm, and the crown of martyrs, and others: which may be seen . at large in Faber's Agonisticon.

#### SECTION VI.

## OF THE GAMES, AND OF THE OLYMPIC STADIUM.

How sumptuous and magnificent soever may have been the sacrifices and the ceremonies of the worship paid by the Grecians to Olympian Jupiter, yet may we venture to conclude, that the vast concourse of people who at the time of that festival usually resorted to Olympia from all parts of the world, was chiefly owing to the Games which always accompanied that solemnity; and that by far the greater number came more out of curiosity than devotion. It is, at least, this part of the institution that makes the most considerable figure in the histories and antiquities of Greece, and VOL. I.

presents itself upon all occasions principally, if not singly, to our minds; while, like the spectators of a triumphant procession, we look upon the pomp of sacrifice, the herds of victims, the train of priests, and even the gods themselves, as so many accompaniments only, and ornamental parts of the ceremony, and turn our eyes to the conqueror, whose glory and whose victories engross all our thoughts and attention. How just this observation may be, with regard to the ancient Greeks. I will not here determine; but among the moderns, I believe, there are very few, and those men of learning only, who either think or know any thing of the religious part of this institution : which, for that reason probably, is now never mentioned under any other title but that of the Olympic Games. The remaining part, therefore, of this Dissertation, shall be wholly taken up with an inquiry into the nature, laws, &c. of those Games; in which if, for want of materials, I should not be able to give the reader all the satisfaction he may expect to find, yet enough, I hope, will be said, to give him a juster idea of these famous Games than he may hitherto have conceived; to lessen his contempt, at least, if not excite his admiration, for a set of conquerors, whom their countrymen thought worthy of great honours and immunities; and to show, that even in the institution of these sports, which seem at first sight to have been calculated only for the amusement of the vulgar, a judicious observer may discover many strokes of that civil wisdom and policy, which we have been taught to look for among the philosophers and lawgivers of Greece.

Before I enter upon this inquiry into the Games, it will be necessary to mention a few particulars relating to the place in which they were exhibited. This, by the Greeks, was named the stadium; a word, signifying a measure of length, consisting of somewhat above an hundred English paces; which being equal to the space of ground allotted for the foot-race, the course was from thence called the stadium, and the racers were named stadiets, or stadiodromi. The Eleans, indeed, pretended, that the stadium at Olympia was measured by the foot of Hercules, which being longer than that of an ordinary man, made their stadium longer than any other in the same proportion.

Pausanias' informs us, that the Olympic stadium was a terrace composed of earth; on one side of which was the seat of the Hellanodics, and over against them on the other was an altar of white marble, upon which the priestess of Ceres Chamyne, and some virgins, had the privilege to sit and view the Games. At the further end of the stadium was the barrier, whence those who ran the simple foot-race began their course; and there, according to the tradition of the Eleans, was the tomb of Endymion.

These are all the particulars concerning the Olympic stadium that are to be found in Pansanias; for what follows, in the passage just quoted, relates only to the horse-course, and shall be produced when I come to speak of the horse-races. But, to assist the reader in forming a more perfect judgment of the stadium than the foregoing account, taken from Pausanias, can enable him to

<sup>1</sup> See Arbuthnot's Tables.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. vi.

make, I shall add, from Wheeler's Travels, a description of the remains of that at Athens, which was built by Herodes Atticus: 'The figure,' says he, 'and bigness of this stadium continue, although the degrees [steps] be all taken away. It is a long place, with two parallel sides, closed up circularly at the east end, and open towards the other end; and is about one hundred and twentyfive geometrical paces long, and twenty-six or twenty-seven broad, which gave it the name of a stadium, that length being the ordinary measure among the Greeks; eight of which made a Roman mile. Mr. Vernon measuring it exactly, found it to be six hundred and thirty English feet long; and a just stadium is six hundred and twenty-five feet of Athenian measure; which, it seems, was but very little bigger than the English, but less than the French foot. When Pausanias comes to speak of this place, he tells his readers, that they would hardly believe what he was about to tell them, it being a wonder to all those that did see it in ancient times: and of that bigness, that one would judge it a mountain of white marble, upon the banks of the river Ilissus. It was Herodes Atticus, one of the richest citizens Athens ever had, that built it: to do which he consumed much of the marble of Mount Pentelicus; which now being either all carried away, or buried in the ruins of the place, it looks only like a great and high bulwark cast up in that form. At the end towards Ilissus, there appears yet some stonework; the rest is now but a stadium of earth above ground.'

Though the Olympic stadium does not appear

to have been so splendid as this of Athens, or another at Delphi, built likewise of marble by the same magnificent citizen of Athens, yet we may suppose they were all formed upon the same model, as they were all destined to the same use. In the stadium were exhibited those Games, which are properly called gymnastic.

At either end of the course stood a pillar, the use of which it may be proper to explain; as also to take notice of the several appellations by which these parts of the stadium were distinguished; viz. the barrier and the goal; at one of which the race began, and was finished at the other: but this must be understood only of the simple foot-race, or that instituted by Iphitus; for afterwards, (in the 14th (Olympiad) as men grew more exercised, and the reputation of these Games increased, the digulus was added. This was also a foot-race. whose course was double the former; that is, two stadiums, as the word implies. They who ran the diaulus, therefore, or double stadium, turned round the pillar erected for that purpose at the end of the Stadium, and returned to the barrier, where they finished their race.

The barrier was at first marked with a straight line, traced along the ground from one side of the stadium to the other: by this line were drawn up, in a row, all the racers, and from thence they began their race; from which custom the barrier, or starting place, was called grammé, or the line. This word is also used to signify the end or termination of the course; and, in fact, the diaulus, and all the other races, except the simple footrace, ended at this line; which, I suppose, is the true reason of the word grammé. The same may be said with regard to the other names of the barrier and stadium, which are likewise used in both senses.

In process of time a cord was made use of, either conjointly with the line or grammé; or, instead of it, to restrain the impatience of the racers, and keep them from pressing forwards one before another. This cord was stretched across the stadium, at the signal given was let fall at once, and at the same instant the racers started. From this cord, called  $\tilde{v}\sigma\pi\lambda\eta\xi$  or  $\tilde{v}\sigma\pi\lambda\eta\eta\xi$  in Greek, from the resemblance between the noise made by the sudden falling of the cord, and the crack of a whip, which is the primary signification of  $\tilde{v}\sigma\pi\lambda\eta\xi$ , the barrier received another name.

The other extremity of the stadium had also different appellations, with whose etymologies I shall not trouble the reader. It is sufficient to observe, that both the names and their etymologies arose from the different views in which the end of the stadium was considered. To those who ran the simple foot-race it was the end and termination of the course; in all the other races the racers turned at this end of the stadium round a pillar, in order to return to the barrier, where the diaulodromi, or those who ran the diaulus, ended their race: but the dolichodromi, or runners in the race called dolichos, or the long course, when they came to the barrier, turned again round the pillar erected at that end also, in order to continue their course, which consisted of many diauli, or doublings of the stadium, as shall be more fully explained hereafter. It is proper, however, to take notice of one of the names given to this extremity of the stadium; because from the explanation of it in Pollux we learn, that the exercises of the pentathlon were performed in this part, which was called bater.

Having now produced all the particulars relating to the place, in which the gymnastic exercises were performed, that I could collect, or that appeared necessary for the better understanding what is to follow, I shall, in the next place, proceed to give a distinct account of those several exercises: of which I shall treat in the order in which they were introduced into the Olympic stadium.

#### SECTION VII.

## OF THE FOOT-RACES.

THE description of the stadium hath led us into so many particulars of the foot-race, that I shall add very little upon that head, besides an enumeration of the several kinds of foot-races, and the laws and rules observed by the competitors in that exercise.

The first, and indeed the only exercise revived by Iphitus, was the simple foot-race, named the stadium, from the length of the course, as has already been observed. Coræbus the Elean stands at the head of the list of conquerors in this exercise; and from them were the Olympiads most commonly denominated: for after the Greeks had

taken up the custom of dating historical events from the Olympiads, they seldom failed, together with the number of the Olympiad, to cite the name of the conqueror: thus, for example, to denote the precise time of the battle of Thermopyle. they would have told us, that it happened in the first year of the 75th Olympiad, Scammander of Mitvlene being conqueror in the stadium, or simple foot-race; which is always signified by that word in the list of Olympic conquerors. The number of the Olympiad was sometimes omitted. and the Olympiad distinguished by no other mark than the name of the conqueror. A sufficient evidence of the great notice which all the different people of Greece were supposed to take of those victories: and an honour so much the more flattering to the conqueror, as he was assured it would not only be diffused over all the parts of the known world, and cited upon many public occasions, but delivered down to the latest posterity in the records and annals of chronologists and historians. This honorary distinction, thus appropriated to the victors in the stadium, was undoubtedly owing at first to the want of rivals to dispute it with them; and continued to them afterwards out of respect to the antiquity and seniority of that exercise: though their victories were obtained with less pains, and consequently with less merit, than those in almost any of the other Games.

In the 14th Olympiad was added the diaulus, or double stadium, which I have explained above; and in the next Olympiad the dolichus, or long

course. In the two former exercises, fleetness, or agility, seems to be the only quality requisite for obtaining the crown: but in this exercise, whose course consisted of seven, or twelve, or even of twenty-four stadia (for those different measures are assigned to the dolichus by different ' authors) besides agility and swiftness, a great strength of body and a long wind was necessary for the holding out through so long a course: besides, as the delichedromi were obliged to make many short turnings round the pillars erected at each end of the stadium, the labour of the race was considerably increased, and the activity and skill of the racer put to more frequent and severer trials than in the two former races. But notwithstanding the length of this course, and the swiftness necessary to gain the victory in the other two, there are instances of people, in whom the two qualities of agility and strength, but seldom found together, were vet so eminent as to enable them to obtain the crown in all the three races in one and the same day. Of this number were Polites of Ceramus. and Leonidas of Rhodes2; but the latter was by far the most remarkable, having obtained this triple victory for four Olympiads together, and distinguished himself from the whole list of conquerors by the gain of twelve Olympic crowns.

From a passage of Pausanias<sup>3</sup>, relating to the former of these two conquerors, it appears, that the racers did not start all together, but that they ran

Potter's Antiq. and Cælius Rhod.
Paus. lib. vi. c. 13. 3 Lib. vi.

in classes, or divisions, to which they were appointed by lot; and the victors in each division ran afterwards together for the prize; and this custom seems, by the last words of the sentence, to be confined to the stadium, or simple foot-race. And, indeed, that course was so short, that it is no wonder the Eleans judged it proper, upon that occasion, to multiply a little the labour of the competitors; especially when they were sure to augment, in the same proportion, both the glory of the victor and the pleasure of the spectators. There is another particular relating to the simple foot-race, intimated in a passage of Themistins, cited by Faber 4, which the passage just now quoted from Pausanias will help us to understand. It seems to have been this; the racers having been distributed by lot into several classes, two of those classes started at the same time, and ran on different sides of the stadium, which was divided into two roads, or courses, by the pillars erected at each end. This conjecture, for it is no better, is rendered more probable by the following words of Statius, (Thebais, lib. vi.) wherein it is said, that Idas in the race having laid hold of his antagonist Parthenopæus by the hair, and pulled him back as he was just coming into the goal before him, the victory was adjudged to neither, but the competitors were obliged to run the race over again; and, in order to prevent the like fraud a second time, they were appointed to run on different sides of the course.

<sup>4</sup> Agon, lib. ii. c. 34.

Furit undique clamor
Dissonus; ambiguumque senis cunctatur Adrasti
Consilium: tandem ipse refert, Compescite litem,
O Pueri: virtus iterum tentanda, sed ile
Limite non uno: latus hoc conceditur Ide:
Tu diversa tene. Fraus cursibus omnis abesto.

As the Olympic Games were a very solenin festival, and were celebrated only every fifth year, and as almost every single man throughout Greece was ambitious of obtaining the honour of an Olympic crown, it is reasonable to suppose that the number of competitors in every kind of exercise was very considerable, especially in the simple foot-race; the lightest of them all. And this might put the Eleans upon the two above-mentioned methods; by the first of which the confusion and other inconveniences arising from a crowd of people running all together in a narrow space were prevented; and by the second some time was saved, which they were under a necessity of husbanding as much as possible, considering that only five days were allotted for the Games; in some of which the contest might often happen to be drawn out into a great length, as the previous apparatus to each of them must needs have taken up a great deal of time.

Though the decision of Arastus, in the abovecited verses of Statius, may seem reasonable and just; yet had any racer in the Olympic stadium been guilty of such a piece of foul play, or fraud as Statius denominates it, for which Idas was sentenced to run the race over again, he would not have escaped with so light a censure from the severer justice of the Hellanodics. The crown would have been adjudged to his antagonist, and he, perhaps, would have been publicly sconrged in the stadium, for having infringed the Olympic laws; which prohibited, under severe penalties, all kinds of fraud and unfair dealing. And to come home to the present point, the competitors in the foot-races were restrained expressly from laying hold of the hair, or any part of the body; from tripping, or even pushing one another aside, as we are told by Tully and Lucian 5.

The competitors for the crown in these exercises (as also in all the gymnastic conflicts) contended naked. Thucydides informs us \$\frac{4}{5}\$, that anciently it was the custom in the Olympic Games for all the Athletes to wear a sort of scarf about their middle; but that it was left off a little before his time: for so the common reading implies, which Hudson \$\frac{7}{5}\$ has altered in order to reconcile Thucydides with the many other authors, who affirm that the scarf was laid aside even so early as the 14th Olympiad, some hundred years before the time mentioned by Thucydides.

Eustathius, in his Comment upon Homer's II. Y. relates the accident that gave occasion to the laying saide the scarf. In the 14th Olympiad, one Orsippus, a racer, happened to be thrown down by his searf tangling about his feet, and was killed; though others say, that he only lost the victory by that fall; but whichever way it was, occasion was taken from thence to make a law, that all the Athletes for the future should

<sup>5</sup> Offic, lib, iii. Hed an jun jadiwe wie even.

<sup>6</sup> Thucyd. lib. i. c. 6. Edit. Wasse. 7 See Note ibid.

contend naked. This fact is differently told by Pausanias, who says, that Orsippus obtained the victory; and that he is persuaded the scarf was designedly thrown off by Orsippus, who could not be ignorant that a man was more light and disencumbered without a scarf than with one; Paus, lib. i. c. 24. And this account agrees best with an old epigram upon Orsippus, quoted by the Scholiast upon Thucyd, lib. i. sect. 6. Ed. Wasse.

We are informed by Pollux 8, that the racers had sandals, or short buskins upon their feet.

In the 65th Olympiad 9, the race of armed men was added to the Olympic Games; an exercise (says Pausanias) that was judged very proper for military men. This differed in nothing from the stadium, or simple foot-race, but that the competitors ran in armour; for which purpose there were five and twenty brass bucklers kept in a temple at Olympia: the other pieces of armour which they carried in this race, were a helmet and buskins, as may be inferred from Pausanias's 10 description of the statue of Damaretus, who gained the first vic-tory in this kind of race. The same author tells us, at the same time that he describes the statue of this victor, dressed up in these pieces of armour, that in process of time the Eleans, as well as the other Greeks, abolished this custom of running in armour. I cannot find when this happened, nor when the custom of running the diaulus, or double stadium in armour, was first introduced.

<sup>8</sup> Onomast, lib. iii. c. 30. 9 Paus, lib. v. 10 Lib. vi. c. 10.

Pausanias 11 makes mention of one Muesibulus, who gained the victory in this exercise in the 235th Olympiad.

Having now gone through the several particulars of the foot-races, I shall close this section with a translation of a Greek epigram, taken out of the Anthologia; in which the hyperbole made use of by the poet to raise an idea of the swiftness of the victor, whom he celebrates, is, in my opinion, much prettier, and more uncommon, than the celebrated one of Virgil upon Camilla. It is necessary for the reader to know, that Arias (the person celebrated in this epigram) was of Tarsus, a city in Cilicia, founded originally by Perseus, who, in old fables, is represented as having had wings upon his feet.

## On Arias of Tarsus, Victor in the Stadium.

The speed of Arias, victor in the race, Brings to thy founder 12, Tarsus, no disgrace: For able in the course with him to vie,. Like him he seems on feather'd feet to fly. The barrier when he quits, the dazzled sight In vain csays to catch him in his flight: Lost is the racer through the whole career, Till victor at the goal he re-appear.

<sup>11</sup> Lib. x. c. 34.

<sup>12</sup> Perseus.

#### SECTION VIII.

## OF THE PALE, OR WRESTLING.

THE wrestlers were first introduced into the Olympic stadium in the 18th Olympiad, and Eurybatus, a Spartan, was the first who received the wrestler's crown.

Theseus 'is reported to have been the first who reduced wrestling into a science. The rules laid down by that hero for attaining to a perfection in this science are, I believe, unknown: but there are still to be found in those writers who treat of gymnastic exercises, many parts or divisions of the palé, or art of wrestling; by which it will appear to what a degree it was cultivated by the ancients. Some of these I shall take notice of in the following account.

But in the first place I must observe, that as I am writing to an English reader, a great deal of time and trouble may be spared upon this head, so little does the wrestling used among the ancients seem to differ from that now practised in most parts of England; in some of which, I will be bold to say, there are champions who would have made no indifferent figure in the Olympic stadium.

The most remarkable difference between the ancient and modern practice is, that the ancient wrestlers contended naked, and that their bodies

<sup>1</sup> Plut, in Thes.

were rubbed all over with oil, or with a certain ointment 2, composed of a due proportion of oil, wax, and dust, mixed up together, which they called ceroma. These unctions were, as some say, peculiar to the wrestlers and pancratiasts, whose combats were thereby rendered more toilsome and various; while each combatant endeavoured to seize upon the other, whose efforts to escape, or break the hold of his antagonist, were assisted by the slipperiness, as well as the force and agility of his body.

But, in order to qualify a little this extreme lubricity of the skin, occasioned by these unctions, the Athletes were accustomed 3, before they came to an engagement, either to roll themselves in the mud of the Palæstra (from which some people derive the words Palé and Palæstra4) or in the sand, kept for that purpose in a place called Kons helov, or that with which the place of combat seems to have been covered, as well for the use just now mentioned, as to prevent the combatants from bruising or injuring themselves in falling; which, were it not for this bed or covering of sand, they would be liable to do. However that be, it is so certain that the Athletes who were anointed, were always, before they engaged, sprinkled with dust or sand 5, that to say an Athlete gained a victory (axout) or without being so sprinkled, was the same thing as to say he gained a victory without engaging; which sometimes happened, when, either from the great repu-

<sup>2</sup> Burette 1 Mem. sur les Athletes. 2 Lucian. de Gymn.

<sup>4</sup> Viz. from Πηλός, which signifies mud.

<sup>5</sup> See Bur. 1 Mem. sur les Athletes.

tation of the champion, or other reasons, none appeared to encounter with him. This office of anointing and sprinkling the combatants with sand, was sometimes performed by themselves to one another; and sometimes by the officers of the Palæstra, called from thence Aliptæ, or anointers. It is to be observed, that all sorts of sand were not equally proper for this use; since Leonatus, one of Alexander's generals 6, was in all the marches of the army followed by camels loaded with sand, which he had caused to be brought from Egypt for his own use.

After the wrestlers were thus prepared for the engagement, they were matched by the judges or presidents of the Games in the following manner:

Into a silver urn, consecrated to Jupiter 7, and brought forth upon this occasion, were cast so many lots or dice, about the bigness of a bean, as answered to the number of the competitors. These lots were all marked with letters; as for example, upon two of them was written the letter A. B upon two others, and so on in an alphabetical order; if the number of combatants required more, there were always two lots marked with the same letter. This being done, the Athletes approached in order, and, invoking Jupiter, put their hands into the urn, and drew out each his lot : to prevent all fraud, an officer appointed for that purpose attended upon every one as he came to draw, and held up his hand before him, to hinder his seeing the letters written upon the lot. When every one had drawn, the Alytarches, or one of the presidents

<sup>6</sup> Plut, in Alex.

<sup>7</sup> Lucian, in Hermotimo.

of the Games, going round to every athlete in order as they stood, inspected the lots. And thus the two, whose lots were both marked with the same letter, as with A or B, were by him matched and appointed to engage with each other. This was the case when the number of the combatants was even, as four, eight, twelve; but when the number was odd, as five, seven, nine, &c. there was put into the urn, together with the duplicate lots, an odd one, marked with a letter, to which there was none that corresponded. athlete who was fortunate enough to obtain this lot, was named Ephedrus, was to wait till the othershad contended, and was then to take up one of the conquerors. This, as Lucian observes, was a very considerable advantage; as the champion, who by virtue of his lot was to wait till the others had contended, and then engage with one of the conquerors, came fresh and vigorous to the encounter, against an adversary, animated indeed and flushed with conquest, but shattered and exhausted in obtaining it.

This was the method of matching the wrestlers and pancratiusts; and for this piece of history we are indebted to Lucian alone, no other ancient author having said any thing upon that subject. It is to be wished that he had gone on a little further, and told us what was done after the first set had finished their combats; with whom was the Ephedrus, or odd man, to engage? for, if the number of combatants amounted at first to more than four, it is evident there would be again the same necessity for matching the conquerors as there was at first: and I doubt not but the same method

was observed, and repeated as often as occasion required, till the competitors were reduced to two, one of which was finally proclaimed the conqueror. This appears a much more natural solution of the difficulty than any other hinted at by Mons. Burette 8, and may be further supported by the consideration, that the advantages accruing to the athlete, named Ephedrus, were by this method rendered less unequal. For if the combatants were to be matched, and the lots to be drawn more than once, (which must have often been the case) he might in the second sortition, in which undoubtedly he was included with his antagonists. lose the advantage he had acquired in the former: and the lucky lot might fall to the share of one who had already been engaged, and who might stand in need of the respite thus allowed him by his good fortune.

The wrestlers, being thus matched, proceeded to the combat, in which the victory was adjudged to him who gave his adversary three falls; as is evident, I think, from the famous epigram upon Milo 9, which I intend to produce at the end of this section 10.

If one of the combatants in falling drew his antagonist with him, the contest began afresh, or was rather continued upon the ground, until one, getting uppermost, constrained his adversary to yield the victory. This combat was called anacli-

<sup>8 2</sup> Mem. sur les Athletes.

<sup>9</sup> See Mons. Burette, who is not of the same opinion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> This is also confirmed by the following words of Seneca:
<sup>e</sup> Luctator ter abjectus perdidit palmam.
Sen. de Ben. lib. v. c. 3.

nopalé, and seems not so much to be a distinct species from, as a modification of, the pale; or an accidental, or, perhaps, artificial variation of the battle: for he who found himself in danger of being thrown, had sometimes recourse, to this stratagem of dragging his adversary with him, and trying upon the ground a combat in which he thought himself better qualified to succeed. However, those authors who have written upon the palé, have made this a distinct exercise; and it is not unlikely but it may have been treated as such in the gymnasia, or schools of exercise; where there were masters, whose business it was to give their scholars distinct lessons in every branch of the science they professed to teach: from which custom one may very well account for the many divisions and subdivisions of the palé, and other gymnastic exercises, of which modern writers have made so many distinct species. Of this kind, in all likelihood, was the acrocheirismus; so named, because the combatants, during this part of their engagement, held one another only by the fingers. without seizing on any part of the body. This has been reckoned a distinct exercise, and another division of the palé; though, as Mons. Burette very well observes, it seems rather to have been the prelude of the combat, in which the antagepists made trial of each other's strength, or endeavoured, perhaps, by seizing each other's hands, mutually to prevent one another from taking a firmer and more advantageous hold.

Pausanias, in his sixth book 11, makes mention of

<sup>11</sup> Cap. iv.

a statue erected at Olympia to one Leontiscus, a wrestler, who was not so skilful at throwing his adversaries, as successful in extorting the victory from them by squeezing or breaking their fingers. This method of conquering was also practised in the pancratium 1, by one Sostratus, with so much success, that he gained from it the surname of Acrochersites. What has been related of Leontiscus is a clear proof of what I observed before, namely, that the acrocheirismus was not a distinct species of the palé, or wrestling.

The champion who distinguished himself the most in this exercise was Milo of Crotona, who gained no less than six Olympic, and as many Pythian crowns. There are so many instances of the prodigious strength of this famous wrestler, and most of them so well known, that it would be endless and impertinent to cite them all: but I cannot forbear producing one, as remarkable for the singularity, as the issue of the experiment.

This Milo 13, to give a proof of his astonishing force, was wont to take a pomegranate, which, without squeezing or breaking it, he held so fast by the mere strength of his fingers, that nobody was able to take it from him; nobody but his mistress, says Ælian 14. But, however weak he may have been with regard to the fair sex, his superior force was universally acknowledged by the men, as will appear by the following epigram:

### On Milo the Wrestler.

When none adventur'd, in the' Olympic sand The might of boisterous Milo to withstand;

12 Cap. iv. 13 Pane. lib. vi. c. 14. 14 Æl. lib. ii. c. 14.

The' unrivali'd chief advanc'd to seize the crows, But mid his triumph slip'd unwary down. The people shouted, and forbade bestow The wreath on him, who fell without a foe: But rising, in the midst he stood, and cried, 'Do not three falls the victory decide! Fortune indeed hath given me one, but who Will undertake to throw me the' other two?'

#### SECTION IX.

#### OF THE PENTATHLON.

AUTHORS differ very much in their account of the exercises of which the pentathlon was composed: though I think it is very clear, from some epigrams in the Anthologia , that it consisted of leaning. running, quoiting, darting, and wrestling. For it is agreed that the pentathlon is intended to be described in that verse 2, said to be written by Simonides, where these five exercises are enumerated, according to the order in which I have placed them. Yet notwithstanding so venerable an authority, some authors 3 have substituted the combat of the cæstus instead of darting; and others pretend, that by the word pentathlon no more is to be understood than a game, or trial of skill, consisting of five, and of any five exercises. Upon what authorities these latter found their assertion I can-

Anthol. iib. i. c. 1. Epi. viii. and lib. ii. c. 1. Ep. vii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "Ισθμια καὶ Πυθοῖ Διοφῶν ὁ Φίλωνος ἐγίκα "Αλμα, Ποδωκείην, Δίσκον, "Ακογία, Πάλην.

<sup>3</sup> Potter's Antiq. vol. i. c. 21,

not tell; but this I am sure of, that the combat of the cæstus could never have been originally of that number; because the first victor in the pentathlon was a Spartan 4, whose laws would not have allowed him to engage in the combats of the cæstus. I will not say that the pentathlon consisted always of the five exercises above-mentioned. because we read in Pausanias 5, that the Eleans, from time to time, made frequent changes in the Olympic Games. There may therefore have been some foundation for these various accounts of the pentathlon, which may have been different at different times; but as that which I have given of it seems to be founded upon the best authorities. I shall keep to it, without entering for the present into a description of any other exercises, besides the five above-mentioned, viz. leaping, running, quoiting, darting, and wrestling,

Two of these, namely running and wrestling, have already been very fully explained; I shall therefore only observe upon the former of these two, that I suppose the race in the pentathion was of the same length with the stadium, or simple foot-race, and regulated by the same laws. We must carry this observation also to the wrestling, which, I suppose, was under the same regulations with the simple pale, or wrestling, treated of in the preceding section.

In the exercise of leaping, wherein the competitors endeavoured to leap beyond one another in length (for I do not find that the height of the leap was taken into the account) the athletes carried

<sup>4</sup> Plut, in Apophth.

in their hands pieces of lead, or some other metal  $^6$ , made in the form of a half circle, not exactly round, but inclining to an oval. In these there was a place made for the fingers to pass through, in the same mamner as through the handle of a shield; and with these weights, called  $^6\lambda\lambda\tau\eta_{gts}$ , (halteres) the athletes were accustomed to poize their bodies, and swing themselves forward in the leap. And to say truth, they had need of some assistance, to enable them to perform any thing like what is related of Phayllus of Crotona  $^7$ , whose leap is said to have been two and fifty feet long  $^6$ . The same thing is said of Chionis the Spartan.

The quoit, or discus, was (according to some authors) of various sizes and figures; though that called the disc of Iphitus, mentioned by Pausanias's, seems, by what he says of the manner in which the inscription upon it was written, to have been circular; as were those described by Lucian, in his dialogue concerning the gymnastic exercises. You took notice (says Solon to Anachariss, the other interlocutor in this dialogue) 'of a great lump of brass round and smooth, resembling a small shield, but without a handle or thong. You tried it too, and found it very weighty, and difficult to be taken up, by reason of its smoothness. This mass the athletes throw into the air as far as they

<sup>6</sup> Paus, lib. v. c. 26.

<sup>7</sup> Olympion. 'Αναγραφή.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Five and fifty, according to the following inscription under his statue, cited by Eustathius; ad Hom. Odyss. Θ.

Πέντ' έπὶ ωτιθήμανθα ωόδας ωήδησε Φάυλος Δίσκευσεν δ' έκαθὸν, ωέντ' ἀπολειποιλένων.

<sup>9</sup> Lib. v.

are able, and endeavour with great eagerness and emulation to surpass each other in the length of the cast.' Here we have not only a description of the disc, or quoit, the manner of the contest, and the laws and conditions of the victory, but a proof also, that all the competitors made use of one and the same disc. This is confirmed by the testimonies of Homer 10, Ovid 11, and Statius 12, who mention but one disc in their descriptions of this Game, in contradiction to the pretended authority of a medal of the Emperor M. Aurelius: upon whose reverse are represented four discoboli, with each his disc, and some of them with two. The discs also in this medal are of a different figure from that described above, and are perforated in the middle; which explains what some authors 13 tell us of a thong used sometimes by the athletes in throwing the disc. And perhaps there were different sorts of discs made use of by the Greeks and Romans; since Ovid, I observe, calls it latum discum, the broad disc, an epithet that agrees very well with its appearance upon the medal. In the Greck writers it is generally represented to be round or globular, or rather approaching to the figure of a lens, and extremely heavy.

The disc was likewise composed of different materials '4, as iron, brass, stone, and sometimes even of wood; and was thrown under-handed, much in the same manner as the quoit is amongst us; from which, however, it differed greatly both in weight and figure, as has been already shown.

<sup>10</sup> Odyss. lib. viil. 11 Met. lib. x. 12 Theb. lib. vi.

<sup>13</sup> See Potter's Antiq. vol. i. c. 21. and Comment. upon Homer and Ovid, in loc. oit. 14 Pind, Pyth. Ode 1.

Neither did the discoboli aim their quoit at any particular mark, as is the custom with us; their whole endeavours were to throw beyond one another, and he who threw furthest obtained the victory.

The same thing was also observed in the exercise of darting, in which the victory was awarded to him who threw his javelin further than the rest of his antagonists. It appears, however, from a passage in the Scholiast, upon the seventh Nemean Ode of Pindar 15, that there were certain limits or boundaries prescribed, beyond which it was a forfeiture of the prize for an athlete to cast his javelin; and to this custom Pindar himself has frequent allusions. The javelin was sometimes thrown with the bare hand, and sometimes with the help of a thone, wound round the middle.

From some terms appropriated to that part of the stadium in which the pentathlon was exhibited, may be collected some circumstances relating to the three exercises last described. One of these terms is  $bater (B\omega \tau \eta_p)$  which seems to have been a low step, from whence the leapers took their rising, Bater was also used to signify the beginning of the scamma, another term denoting the area marked out for the exercises of the pentathletes. The word scamma properly signifies a ditch or trench; and this area, as I conjecture, was formed by two parallel trenches drawn from the bater or step above-mentioned into a sufficient length, to serve as boundaries or limits, within which the pentathletes were obliged to leap and to throw the dise

<sup>15</sup> Verse 18th.

and javelin; and which if they transgressed, by leaping or casting the disc or javelin over either of them, they forfeited their pretensions to the victory. This will explain the passage above cited from the Scholiast of Pindar, as well as many expressions in other Greek writers, who speak of leaping, shooting, darting, &c. over the scamma, or τα ἐσχάμμενα, trench or trenches, as a fault. Indeed, if the word terma, used by Pindar in the passage referred to by his Scholiast, be taken literally to signify the end or termination, it will lead us to suppose there was another trench, drawn across at the end from one parallel to the other; or rather several trenches, as so many marks or limits for the leapers, darters, and discoboli, which in their respective contests they were required not to over-pass. But as the fear of over-passing these marks or limits must check them in their endeayours to outgo each other, upon which the victory depended, I am rather inclined to think that Pindar has used the word terma improperly, and that the two side-trenches were the only limits which the pentathletes were forbidden to transgress. But this I submit to better judgments.

The exercise of leaping in the pentathlon was accompanied by flutes, playing Pythian airs, as Pausanias informs us. Whence this custom was derived, I cannot say. And the reason assigned for it by that author, which is certainly not the true one, may induce us to think, that in this matter the ancients were as ignorant as we.

The candidates in the pentathlon, as well as those in all the other gymnastic exercises, contended naked, and were also anointed with oil; though both these points are called in question by some writers, especially the former; and that, as I suppose, chiefly upon the authority of the forementioned medal of M. Aurelius, which, however, is suspected by the learned not to be genuine.

There are likewise many doubts and difficulties started by some, with relation to the conditions upon which the victory was awarded in the pentathlon; though it seems clear to me, that he who vanquished his antagonists in every one of the five exercises, was alone entitled to the crown. That he who was vanquished in any one of these five contests thereby lost the crown, is evident from the story of Tisamenus related by Pausanias, Lacon, c. 11, which is this: Tisamenus the Elean, of the family of Iamus, had been told by the oracle. that he should gain five very glorious victories, or more literally perhaps, that he should come off successful in five very glorious conflicts. In consequence of which he engaged in the pentathlon at Olympia, but lost the victory; for though he got the better in two of the exercises, having vanquished Hieronymus of Andros, in running and leaping, yet being vanquished in wrestling by the same Hieronymus, he failed of obtaining the crown; and then came to understand, that the victories promised him by the oracle were military victories.

If all hopes of gaining the pentathletic crown were lost to him, who was vanquished in any one trial (which all the candidates except one must be even in the first) it may be demanded, why the vanquished should contend any longer? to this I answer, that the pentathletes were probably obliged by the laws of the Olympic Games to go through

all the five exercises. For Pausanias represents the pentathlon as a very tedious and laborious contest; which representation of it is by no means just, upon the supposition that the victory was decided by a single trial. I could confirm what is here said of the pentathlon by other authorities; but I am unwilling to multiply quotations, and probably no one will think it worth his while to dispute this point.

But though all the competitors except one must have despaired of gaining the crown, even from the very first trial, yet might they still be desirous of carrying on the contest through the four remaining exercises (had they not been required to do it by the Olympic laws), either with a view of signalizing themselves in some of the other contests, or the hopes of ravishing the crown from him, by whose victory they had been excluded from the prospect of obtaining it; which, if not victory, was yet revenge; though revenge in their circumstances might well be deemed a kind of victory neither immoral nor inglorious. In this case indeed it might sometimes happen, that none of the competitors would be entitled to the crown; but even this may be considered as an event, with which the majority of the competitors, at least, if not of the spectators, who upon such occasions are commonly divided into different interests and factions, had as much reason to be pleased, as with the glory accruing to a single person, to the dishonour of themselves or their friends.

Before I conclude this section I must take notice, that Pindar, in his 13th Olymp. Ode, congratulates Xenophon of Corinth upon his having gained in one day two Olympic crowns; one in the stadium, or simple foot-race, the other in the pentathlon; which, says he, never happened to any man before. The reason is, that the regimen of a pentathlete, as both Epictetus and his disciple Arrian inform us, was very different from that of an athlete, who qualified himself for a single exercise alone, as running, wrestling, or any other. Whence, as we are assured both by Plato and Longinus, it seldom happened that a pentathlete, though very eminent in his profession, was able to contend with an athlete in that exercise, as running, for example, or wrestling, to which alone he had applied himself altogether. The same thing may be said of all the athletes in general; who differed from each other in their respective regimens and diets, as much or more than in the several exercises to which they peculiarly applied themselves.

# SECTION X.

# OF THE CÆSTUS.

The combat of the castus, which was revived in the 23d Olympiad, was a very rough exercise; in which the victory was most commonly, if not always, stained with blood. For this reason it was held in little estimation by most people. The physicians, who were accustomed upon many occasions to prescribe the use of some or other of the gymnastic exercises, either make no mention of this, or speak of it only to condemn it. Alexander, as Plutarch!

I In Alex.

tells us, treated it with no more regard: for he never admitted either the cæstus or pancratium among those Games, which he often exhibited during his war in Asia. And indeed, to say nothing of the danger to which the combatants in these two exercises were exposed; and for which the glory alone of the victor, without any other advantage accruing either to himself or his country, was not a sufficient recompence; the regimen observed by those who qualified themselves for these combats. was by no means proper for a soldier. What this was in general, may appear from the account given of it to Philopæmen; who, being exceedingly desirous of becoming a good soldier, had for that reason, with great diligence, exercised himself even from his infancy in the management of his arms, in horsemanship, and wrestling 2; in the last of which exercises he had made a good proficiency. But being advised by some people to apply himself to those exercises properly called athletic (by which. I think, must be understood the cæstus and the pancratium, in contra-distinction to the palé or wrestling, as appears from this passage), he demanded of them, whether the two professions of an athlete and a soldier were not inconsistent? In answer to this question he was told, that both the habit of body and the way of life of a soldier and an athlete differed in every respect; and consequently they were to be treated differently, both with regard to their regimen and to their exercises: that an athlete was to endeavour by much sleep, perpetual repletion, stated and regular repose and

<sup>2</sup> Plut, in Philopæm.

exercise, to acquire and keep up a certain corpulency; which, by the least variation in his diet or manner of living, was very subject to be lost: whereas a soldier should accustom himself to all sorts of inequalities, to a life full of discomposure and disorder; and above all, to support with ease the want of provisions and the loss of sleep. These reasons determined Philopæmen not only to reject these exercises himself, but to discourage them in I will not say these were the reasons that induced Lycurgus to banish the cæstus and pancratium from Sparta, because there is another reason assigned for his doing it, which I shall take notice of in another place; but it is certain that the diet and regimen prescribed by him to his Spartans, resembled much more that of a soldier than that of an athlete. This corpulency, or polysarcia (fleshiness) as the Greeks called it, was sought after and cherished by the combatants in the cæstus, as a sort of covering and defence of their bones and muscles, against dry blows and buffets; but was at the same time very improper for a soldier: for, as Epaminondas 3 observed to a fat fellow, whom for his bulk he turned out of the army, it would require three or four shields to cover and defend a belly that hindered a man from seeing his own knee.

On the other hand, there are great authorities to be produced in favour of the castus. Hercules and Pollux, demigods, Amycus king of the Bebrycians, and Eryx his grandson, were the first who distinguished themselves in those combats; upon

<sup>3</sup> Plut, Apophth,

his superiority in which Amycus 4 so valued himself as to compel all strangers who touched upon his coast to take up the cæstus, and make trial of his strength and skill in the management of that rude instrument of death; for so it proved to many, who accepting the challenge perished in the combat. But at length the royal athlete met with his match: Pollux encountered, subdued, and slew him. according to Apollonius Rhodius 5; but that last part of the story is denied by other authors. All however agree, that Pollux handled him roughly enough to make him sensible of the folly which many tyrants have run into, some have suffered by, but which none have reflected upon till they came to suffer; namely, the folly of enacting an unjust and cruel law, which in its consequences may, and often does, happen to recoil upon themselves.

This Amycus is said to have invented the combat of the cæstus.

After him we find it in Homer of practised by the heroes of the Iliad, and in Virgil naking one among the Games exhibited by Æneas in honour of his father Anchises; in which two authors may be seen a complete description both of the combat, and of the combat, with which the hands and arms of the combatants were usually bound. This consisted of many thongs of leather, or raw hides of bulls, wound about the hand and arm up to the elbow; and seems to have been invented, as well for a safeguard to those parts upon which the first

- 4 Apoll. Rhod. lib. ii. Theocr.
- 5 See the Scholiast, ver. 97, and Theocr.
- 6 Il. xxv. 7 Æn. v.

fury of the battle generally fell, as for an offensive weapon; though, when it was lined with plates of lead or iron, (which it sometimes was, according to Virgil) one would think it intended chiefly for the latter: but I must take notice, that neither of the three Greek poets who have given us a description of the cæstus, make any mention of plates of lead or iron.

There may possibly have been another intention in binding up the hands of the combatants with thongs of leather, and that is, to prevent their laying hold of each other; from which, as from kicking also, and tripping, they were restrained by the laws of the cassus.

Pansanias hath helped us to another reason for the custom of binding up the fingers of the combatants, which took its rise from an accident that happened in the Nemean Games. Creugas and Damoxenus 8, two champions of equal strength and skill, having drawn out their combat to the evening, without either's having been able to subdue his adversary, agreed at length to permit each other to strike in his turn where he should think proper, without either of them endeavouring to ward off the blows. Creugas began, and gave Damoxenus a wound upon the head. Damoxenus, being now to take his turn, ordered his antagonist to lift up his arm, and keep it still; and at the same time struck him under the ribs with the ends of his fingers; which by reason of the strength and sharpness of the nails, and the violence of the blow, penctrated into his belly; and Damoxenus following his

<sup>8</sup> Paus, lib, viii, c. 40.

blow, widened the wound, and through it drew out the entrails of his enemy, who died upon the spot. The death of Creugas gave Damoxenus the victory indeed, but not the crown; for the judges of the Games drove him with infamy and indignation out of the stadium; as one who had conquered by treachery, and, by repeating his blows without allowing Creugas to have his turn, had basely violated the conditions agreed upon between them in the hearing of the whole assembly. Creugas was crowned; and the straps of the cæstus, which hitherto, according to the ancient custom, were tied in the palm or hollow of the hand, were from that time brought over the fingers, and fastened upon the wrist.

The ancient cæstus 9 was called μείλιχος or soft; perhaps because it was composed of raw hides, or perhaps to distinguish it from the more modern cæstus. We have already remarked one material difference between them; by which I think it appears, that the former was more fitted to defend the hand and arm of the combatants, (which, I suppose, was its original purpose) and the latter to huft and annoy the enemy; and it is not unlikely, that as the Grecians began to refine upon the gymnastic exercises, and the science of an athlete, from the encouragement of the public, grew by degrees into a profession ;-it is not unlikely, I say, that the caestus should from time to time receive several additions; and that at length it should be improved by the Romans, who delighted in bloody spectacles, into that terrible weapon described by Virgil.

<sup>9</sup> Vid. Paus, ibid.

This conjecture will at least account for the difference observable between that in Virgil, and those described by the Greek poets.

I must also observe, that in Apollonius Rhodius, Amycus the challenger throws down two pair of cæstuses, the choice of which, out of bravery, he leaves to Pollux, without drawing lots, and Pollux, without examining, takes those that were next him. Did the poet borrow this circumstance from any such custom in the public Games? Did the combatants in the Olympic stadium bring their own cæstuses? Did they cast lots for the choice? Or were they furnished by the presidents of the Games with cæstuses of a like form and weight, as Entellus and Dares were by Æneas? I am inclined to think the latter was the method, from a custom observed at Olympia, to furnish the armed racers and the discoboli with shields and discs out of the public treasures.

The combatants in this exercise also fought naked 15, or at most with no other covering than a scarf tied round their middle. They also wore a cap or head-picce, to defend their ears and temples from blows, which in those places might have proved mortal, especially when inflicted by a strong land, armed with so rude a weapon. These head-pieces were of brass, according to the author of the 'Etymologicum magnum.' It appears, however, from the following epigranı of Lucilius, that the consequences of these battles were sometimes very terrible, though the combatants escaped with their lives and limbs.

<sup>10</sup> See Burette.

### On a Conqueror in the Castus.

This victor 11, glorious in his olive-wreath, Had once eyes, eye-brows, nose, and ears, and teeth; But turfing casus-champion, to his cost, These, and, still worse! his heritage he lost. From by his brother sead, disowurd, at last Coufrosted with his picture, he was cast.

## SECTIÓN XI.

#### OF THE PANCRATIUM.

THERE are wonderful disputes, as I hear, (says Cælius Rhodiginus ') among the grammarians, concerning the paneratium, who cannot agree what sort of an exercise it was; nor wherein the peculiar excellence of a paneratiast consisted. But notwithstanding (continues he) I think it very easy to decide that question.' And, indeed, from the two passages which he there quotes out of Aristotle and Quinctilian, it seems pretry plain that the paneratium 'was an exercise that partook both of the cæstus and the palé; by which it is to be understood, that an athlete must borrow many things from each of those sciences to redge himself eminent in the

<sup>11</sup> Anthol. lib. ii. c. 1, Ep. i.

Ant. Lect. lib. xiii. c. 30.

pancratium. He must learn to trip, and strike, to box, and grapple with his antagonist; to stand with firmness, fall with advantage, and rise with vigour and celerity; or maintain the combat upon the ground: to attack and to defend, to aunoy and resist his enemy, in every attitude; and to employ, in one or other of those purposes, every limb, and nerve, and sinew, all the faculties, and all the strength of his whole body: this is implied in the word pancratium 3; and is the best account of an exercise, in which the combatants were allowed (under certain restrictions, hereafter-mentioned) to make what use they thought proper of all the arms that nature had given them, both offensive and defensive, and of only those; for neither (as in the cæstus) were their hands and fingers bound up or armed, nor their legs and feet prohibited from joining in the battle, nor were they restrained from striking, as in the palé. They were able, notwithstanding, with no other arms than these, so to mangle and injure one another, that it was thought proper to restrain them in some points 4; lest a contest set on foot merely for victory and honour should be disgraced by murder or malice, and the combatants be provoked to encounter one another in a manner more becoming beasts than men. An athlete therefore was forbidden to kill his adversary designedly, to dig or pluck out his eyes, to tear him with his teeth, or strike him under the ribs with the ends of his fingers, as was done by Damoxenus to Creugas: notwithstanding which, there was still

<sup>3</sup> Pancratium is derived from Hav and Kouros.

<sup>4</sup> See Bur. 2 Mem. ser les Athletes.

room enough left for them to exercise their skill and strength, their courage and resolution: I say resolution, because it was a common practice for a pancratiast to choke the strength and skill of his antagonist by twisting and entangling himself about his legs and arms; and to endeavour by fatigue. and pain, and suffocation, to weary him into a sur-render of the victory. All, or most of these circumstances, are to be met with in the story or Arrachion 5, which happened in the fifty-fourth Olympiad, Arrachion was an eminent pancratiast, who in the former Olympiads had already gained two crowns, and was now to encounter with the last of his antagonists for the third: but he having, perhaps, observed by his former combats, in what the superiority of Arrachion consisted, and thinking it better to prevent him, rushed in, and twining his feet about him, seized him at the same time by the throat, which he griped with both his hands. Arrachion, having no other means either of disengaging himself, or annoying an enemy who was thus got within him, and had almost strangled him to death, broke one of his toes; through the extreme pain of which the other was compelled to resign the victory, at the very instant that Arrachion gave up the ghost. Arrachion, though dead, was proclaimed conqueror, and the crown of olive was accordingly set upon his head.

In this short history we may observe the love of glory triumpling on the one hand over the fear of death, and yielding on the other hand to pain, which Milton somewhere styles 'perfect misery.'

<sup>5</sup> Paus, lib. viii. c. 40

And notwithstanding the boasted anathy of the Stoics, philosophy perhaps can find no anodyne against the importunate and impatient power of pain, of so much force and efficacy as the love of glory and the dread of shame; which for that reason was always set in opposition to it by Lycurgus. But as the sense of pain was implanted in mankind by nature for very wise purposes, he endeavoured by the force of habit and education to superinduce among his Spartans a kind of second nature, if not wholly insensible of pain, yet not easily subdued by it. They were accordingly taught, even from their infancy, to set it at defiance; to enter the lists, as it were, and combat with it: while at the same time their friends, their relations, and their parents animated them to the conflict, and recompensed their victory with praise and public honours. To this end many painful disciplines were invented. and many sorts of contests encouraged in Sparta, as rude and bloody as the cæstus or pancratium, which nevertheless their wise legislator absolutely prohibited: for the law of these two exercises requiring that one of the combatants should yield either in words or by stretching out his hand or finger, or by giving some other testimony of his so doing; Lycurgus forbade his Spartans to engage in either of them, because (as he said bimself) he would not have them accustom themselves to vield the victory, not even in sport. The Spartans, undoubtedly, from the hardy and athletic course of life into which he had put them, had a much fairer prospect of conquering in these contests than any other

<sup>6</sup> Plut. in Apophth.

people of Greece; but if they failed of the victory (which even in this kind of warfare depends often upon chance and accident, to say nothing of the insurmountable advantages which nature bestows upon some men in preference to all other, and which no force of art or education can pretend to equal) they would then see themselves reduced to the sad necessity, either of publicly disavowing the haughty maxim of Sparta, and breaking her laws, or of unprofitably losing a life, which they might employ to much better purposes in the service of their country 7. The laws of Sparta commanded a man to die or conquer; and punished with extreme infamy those who saved themselves by flight 8, which is only another form of renouncing the victory; for they were not only excluded from all offices and honours, but it was esteemed ignominious to make any alliances with them by marriage: it was also allowable for any body that met with them to kick and strike them; and the miserable wretches wandered up and down, exposed to the scorn and insults of their countrymen; and bearing about the marks of their infamy, in the coarseness and colour of their habits, and the dejection of their countenances, rendered still more contemptible by being shaved only on one side. Lycurgus, therefore, acted very consonantly with his own laws, in forbidding his Spartans the cæstus and pancratium; and very consistently with his views of rendering them a hardy and warlike people, in permitting and encouraging among them the use of all the other gymnastic exercises. For these admit-

<sup>7</sup> Herod. lib. vii.

<sup>8</sup> Plut, in Agesilao.

ting a clear decision of the victory, without the hard condition imposed on the combatants in the cestus and paneratium, of acting in their own condemnation, allowed the vanquished the secret satisfaction of preserving his mind and spirit at least unconquered?

I need not perhaps inform the reader, that the combatants in the cæstus and pancratium were naked, &c. and that the restrictions just now mentioned extended also to the former, as far as the nature of that exercise would allow. As in these two exercises it was necessary to pair the combatants, this we are to suppose was done by lot, in the same manner as the wrestlers were matched in the palé, which has been described in a foregoing section, and therefore need not be repeated here: but I cannot forbear inserting a remarkable story of a Samian athlete named Ægles, who having been dumb from his birth came to the use of speech, by an effect as sudden and surprising as that related of the son of Crossus : take it in the words of Aulus Gellius, upon whose credit I shall leave it, 'Sed et quispiam Samius Athleta, nomen illi fuit "Arvans. cum antea non loquens fuisset, ob similem dicitur causam loqui cœpisse. Nam quum in sacro certa-

<sup>9</sup> This is very well explained by the following passage of Seneca de Benede, lib. v. c. 3. 'Lacatemonii vetant soos pancratio aut cestu decernere, nbi inferiorem ostendit victi confessio. Cursor metam prior contingit, velocitate alium non almo antecessit; lactator ter abjectus perfudit palmam, non tradidit. Còm invictos esse Lacedemonii cives suos magno actinarente, ab his certamibabs removerant, ju quibus victorom facit, non judex, non per se ipse exitus, sed vox cedentis et tradere jubentis.

mine sortitio inter ipsum et adversarios non bonà fide fieret, et sortem nominis falsam subjici animadivertisset; repentè in eum, qui id facichat, sese videre quid faceret, magnum inclamavit. Atque is oris vinculo solutus per omne inde vitæ tempus non turbidè neque adhæsè locutus est.' These words import, that Ægles, being a candidate for one of the four sacred crowns, and perceiving the officer who was appointed to match the combatants, fraudulently endeavouring to put a wrong lot upon him, cried out to him with a loud voice, that he saw what he was doing, from which time the band of his tongue being loosed, he continued for the rest of his life to speak distinctly and without hesitation.

If we compare the words 'non loquens,' in the former part of this passage, with those ' non turbidè neque adhæsè,' in the latter part, we may be induced to believe that Ægles, before this accident was not absolutely dumb, but had only a great impediment and hesitation in his speech; which will make the story somewhat less wonderful: but whether in either case the cure was possible or not, I shall leave to the naturalists to determine; and observe, that the fraud which produced in Ægles such a violent agitation, as at once broke all the impediments which tied up the organs of his speech, probably related to the lot of the Ephedrus, or odd man, reserved to engage with one of the con-querors: a lot of the utmost consequence, especially in the cæstus and pancratium; in which a combatant, though victorious, might yet have been so roughly treated, or so much spent, in his former engagement, as to be little able to contest the victory with an antagonist, who came fresh and unwounded to the battle. Pausanias, indeéd, speaks of a pancratiast named Sostratus, who had an easy method of obtaining the victory: his custom was, to seize fast hold of his adversary's fingers, which he broke, and never quitted his hold till they renounced the contest. This method gained him twelve Isthmian and Nemean, two Pythian, and three Olympic crowns, together with a statue at Olympia, and the surname of Acro-chersites.

# SECTION XII.

### OF THE HORSE-RACES.

I HAVE now gone through the several exercises which are distinguished by the name of gymnastic; and which, as well from their seniority as their precedence in the celebration of the Olympic Games, have a right in this dissertation to take place of the horse-races; though the competitors in the latter were, generally speaking, men of higher rank and consideration than the athletæ; and the spectacle was in itself, perhaps, moré poinpous and magnificent.

There were properly but two kinds of horseraces at Olympia, namely, the chariot-race, introduced into those Games in the 25th Olympiad, and the race of riding-horses, which was not admitted till the 35d. All the rest, which I shall take notice of in their order, were little else than modifications of these two.

<sup>1</sup> Isocr. de Bigis,

It appears from the story of Œnomaus and Pelops, that the chariot-race was known in Elis, even before the institution of the Olympic Games; which are said by some people to have been celebrated by the latter ', upon the occasion of his victory over Œnomaus. It may seem therefore a little strange, that neither Iphitus, when he restored these Games, nor the Eleans, who after him had . the superintendency and direction of them, should, before the 25th Olympiad, think of reviving an exercise so famous in the traditional history of their own country. For it was in the chariot-race that Pelops 3, the great hero of the Eleans, vanquished Enomaus, and won Hippodamia, the fair prize for which so many princes before him had hazarded and lost their lives: though possibly that lady, like Ecechiria the wife of Iphitus, may have only been an allegorical personage, and no more be meant by that story, than that Pelops conquered Œnomaus by his superior skill in horsemanship 4. But whether this conjecture be admitted, or whether Hippodamia be taken for the real daughter of Œnomaus, so named, perhaps, by her father, from a science in which he took himself to excel, it tends either way to prove the great antiquity and estimation of the chariot-race; and brings us back to the question, how it came to pass that it was admitted no earlier into the Olympic Games. This, in all likelihood, was owing principally to the great scarcity of horses throughout all Greece, not only at the time of the revival of those Games, but for

See Section the First.
 Pindar's Olymp. Ode 1.
 The word Hippodamia is compounded of two Greek words, and signifies the art of taming or managing horses.

many Olympiads after; and in the next place to the great expense that attended the breeding and managing ofhorses; and lastly, perhaps, to the little estimation in which the Olympic Games were held at their re-institution. The olive-crown had not as yet acquired that lustre, which afterwards attracted the ambition even of kings, and engaged the principal men of Greece in a competition for an honour, that was esteemed equal to a Roman triumph.

That the Greeks were at all times but ill provided with cavalry, is manifest through the whole course of their history. At the siege of Troy, when they were able to bring into the field an army of an hundred thousand men, they appear to have had so few horses, and to have known so little of the usefulness of that noble animal, as to employ them in no other service than in drawing their chariots. With these indeed they came thundering to the battle; but with so little order, and in so small a number, that in the equipage of a chariot, it is visible, there was less advantage and convenience than pomp and ostentation. Horses were the possession only of the rich and great, who never failed, in the enumeration of their wealth and treasures, to reckon up their horses and their chariots. This we learn not from Homer only and the poets, who wrote of those early times, or lived near them. Isocrates speaks the same language, in an oration 5 made to be spoken in a court of justice; and to prove the nobility and wealth of the family of Alcibiades, who by his mother's side was descended

<sup>5</sup> De Bigis,

from Alcmaon, uses no other argument, than that Alcmaon was the first Athenian that won a prize in the chariot-race at the Olympic Games.

After the Trojan war, and even after the restitution of the Olympic Games, the same scarcity of horses is observable in Greece, For neither did the Lacedæmonians, the most warlike people of Greece, nor any of the Peloponnesians, as Pansanias 6 informs us, know much of the use of horses, till after the two Messenian wars: from which time the former, as they began to extend their arms beyond the Isthmus, grew sensible of their want of cavalry: and accordingly took care to instruct their youth in horsemanship. Nor were the Athenians, the richest and most powerful people of Greece, better furnished with cavalry than the Lacedamonians their rivals. To remedy this evil, and encourage the breed and management of horses, Solon, indeed, instituted an order of citizens in his commonwealth, which consisted of such as were of ability to furnish out a horse; and to these he allotted the second rank in the state. Yet we find that at the battle of Marathon 7, though they were to encounter with an enemy whose chief strength consisted in their cavalry, they were utterly destitute of horse 8: and even after the Persians were entirely driven out of Greece, which may be reckoned the most glorious period of that commonwealth, their whole number of horse, for some time, amounted to no more than three hundred.

From this remarkable scarcity of horses among

8 Potter's Antiq. vol. ii.

<sup>6</sup> Lib. iv. 7 Herod. lib. vi,

the Grecians may be shown, at the same time, the reason of their being introduced so late into the Olympic Games; and the wisdom of introducing them. Greece was in want of horses; it was, therefore, expedient to do something to procure them; and no method was like to be so effectual as the raising an emulation among particular states and people, by rewarding with public honours those who should excel in the breeding and managing of horses. With this view then, in all likelihood, was the Olympic olive proposed, as the only prize, perhaps, for which the several nations of Greece would equally contend; and the Olympic hippodrome was opened as a theatre, where the several competitors might exhibit their pretensions; and prove their merit in the presence of all Greece. The Olympic Games had now subsisted near a hundred years from the time of their re-institution by Iphitus, not to mention their more remote, though fabulous, original; and consequently began to be looked upon with veneration for their antiquity, and frequently for the sake of the spectacle; which, consisting of almost all the gymnastic exercises, drew to Olympia, not only a great number of candidates for the olivecrown, but a multitude of spectators also from all parts of Greece; who, beholding with pleasure and admiration, and rewarding with applause. the ardour and emulation of those who contended for the prize, insensibly contributed to raise the yalue of the Olympic chaplet, and kindled in each other a like ambition to obtain it. Upon the introduction, therefore, of the chariot-race, the rich and noble, who are also fond of glory, as appears

from their ostentation and love of flattery, with pride and pleasure laid hold of an occasion, which presented them with the means of obtaining what they could not help admiring with the vulgar, without engaging them at the same time in a competition with them 9. Alexander the Great would have contended in the foot-race at Olympia, could he have had kings for his antagonists. But, as I have observed, there was no room to object against the meanness of the competitors in the horseraces; in the list of whose conquerors are accordingly to be found kings of all those nations of Greece that were governed by kings, as also the nien of the greatest eminency, both for wealth and power, in those commonwealths whose liberty and independence rendered their chief citizens equal, if not superior, to those kings. Of this last number was Alcibiades; who, perceiving (as his son informs us in an oration made for him by Isocrates 10) that the Olympic Games were held in great honour and admiration by all Greece; and that the glory acquired in those assemblies, where every Grecian was accustomed to display his wealth, and strength, and knowledge, redonnded not to the victor only but to his country also, resolved to produce himself at Olympia: but, considering at the same time, that in the gymnastic exercises the generality of the combatants were meanly born, more meanly educated, and inhabitants, perhaps, of mean and inconsiderable cities, he refused upon that account to engage in those combats, (in which, however, he was as well

<sup>9</sup> Plut, in Apophth. 10 Isocr. de Bigis.

qualified to succeed as any one, both from nature and practice) and entered himself a candidate for the equestrian crown; to which no man of a low and poor condition could pretend. And upon this occasion, (says Plutarch 11) he outshone not only all his competitors, but all who either before or since contended for that crown, in the number and magnificence of his chariots, and in the victories obtained by them; for he brought at once seven chariots into the course, and carried off at the same time the first, second, and fourth prize. according to Thucydides 12; or third, according to Isocrates 13 and Euripides; the last of whom composed an ode upon the conqueror, part of which is quoted by Plutarch. The poet in this ode compliments Alcibiades upon his having gained at once three prizes; a thing, says he, which no Greek 14 had ever done before him. He takes notice, likewise, of another circumstance attending these victories, which may seem, perhaps, to derogate from the glory of the conqueror, namely, that these victories cost Alcibiades peither trouble nor. danger.

And this leads me to consider another point, from which it will more plainly appear that the Eleans, in introducing the chariot-race into the Olympic Games, had the service of the public prin-

<sup>11</sup> In Alex. 12 Lib. vi. 13 De Bigis.

<sup>14</sup> The poet by this must mean that Alcibiades was the only one that ever gained at the same fine three prizes in one and the same exercise, as the charior-race, for example: there are many instances of people, who gained in the same Olympiad three crowns in three different exercises. See l'indar's Olymp. Ode v. and the former section about the foot-race.

eipally in view; for as they offered the Olympic olive to the wealthy, who alone were able to support the great expense that necessarily attends the breeding, keeping, and managing horses, so they did wisely make the conditions of obtaining it as easy to them as possible, by exempting them from the trouble and danger of driving their own chariots, hinted at by Euripides in the ode above mentioned.

No one, however, was prohibited from driving his own chariot; which, in all likelihood, at the first revival of these races, was more practised than the contrary custom of leaving it to the management of others. The office of a charioteer was anciently far from being dishonourable; and the skill of managing horses, which were then used only in chariots, was reckoned among the accomplishments of a hero; but when chariots came to be laid aside in war, which seems to have happened soon after the heroic ages 15, the usefulness, and consequently the reputation, of that art began to diminish by degrees; whence it soon came to be lodged in inferior hands. And it was by no means the business of the Eleans to ennoble it once more, by obliging the masters of the horses to contend in person, and add to the trouble and expense of breeding and maintaining them, the subordinate and painful office of managing and breaking them. This would have been clogging the conditions, and would have disgusted some, and excluded others, from being candidates for a crown, which they might have been willing to de-

<sup>15</sup> Potter's Ant. vol. ii. p. 16.

serve, but unable to obtain in person. Such, at least, would have been the situation of all the states and cities; and ladies, who contended by proxy in the Olympic hippodrome, and received the honours due to that ambition which they were intended to excite; and which was as beneficial to the public in the women as in the men. Cynisca 16, a Lacedæmonian lady of a manly spirit, was the first who gave this example to her sex; encouraged to it by Agesilans her brother, king of Sparta: who observing some of his countrymen overvaluing themselves upon the number of their horses, and the victories obtained by them at Olympia, prevailed with his sister to show them, by offering herself a candidate for the equestrian crown, that they were more indebted for those victories to their money than their merit. This precedent was afterwards followed by many Macedonian ladies; which shows, at the same time, the prevalency of the fashion, the extensiveness of its influence, and the policy of the Eleans, in forming so comprehensive a scheme, and opening, by that means, a field for the ambition of the women; who contributed equally with the men to the promoting their principal design in admitting chariots into the Olympic Games.

If, notwithstanding what has been just now said, to show the wisdom and policy of the Eleans, in exempting the owners of the horses from contending in person, and yet bestowing the crown upon them, any one should be still inclined to think that the chief honour of an equestrian victory pught, in justice, rather to be conferred on the

<sup>16</sup> Paus. Lacon. Plut. in Agesilao.

charioteer who won it, than upon the owner of the chariot, I shall desire him to take in consideration the following piece of history, told by Plutarch in the life of Alexander.

Philip, king of Macedon 17, having made him-self master of Potidæa, received in the same day three messengers; the first of whom brought him an account of a great victory obtained by his general Parmenio over the Illyrians; the second told him, that he was proclaimed conqueror in the race of riding-horses at Olympia; and the third acquainted him with the birth of Alexander. Plutarch tells us, that Philip was mightily delighted with these three pieces of news, without saying which of them gave him the greatest pleasure. The first event, undoubtedly, and the third, tended more directly to the furtherance of his main design; which was no less than that of enslaving all Greece, and of employing afterwards her united forces to conquer, for his glory, the empire of the Persians. The second was less conducive to those views, but less pernicious also to his country, Let the reader determine upon which of the three Philip had most reason to value himself: and whether any of them, according to the strict rule of justice, contended for by those who object to the proceeding of the Eleans, ought to have been placed to his account? For the first he was indebted to Parmenio and his army; for the second, to his rider and his horse : and his wife is shrewdly suspected of having helped him to the third.

<sup>17</sup> Plut, in Alex.

What I have been saying concerning the victors in the chariot-race, will hold equally to those who conquered in the race of riding-horses, mules, &c. in which latter the conditions of obtaining the crown of victory were left as large as in the former, and are to be justified upon the same principles.

But after all, it may seem impertinent to use many arguments with an English reader, to convince him of the wisdom and justice of a proceeding which is every day practised among us; who have also our horse-races and prizes for the victor. established originally with the same view as those of which I am now speaking, and under some of the same regulations: particularly with regard to the bestowing the prize, which with us, as with the Grecians, is conferred upon the owner of the horse that wins the race, and not upon the rider, If this be an injustice, the jockies at Newmarket have great reason to complain; in whose opinion, I dare say, a piece of plate of a hundred guineas is preferable to the glory of a thousand Olympic crowns. I will not say their masters are in the same way of thinking, nor make any further comparison between the customs observed in the horseraces at Olympia, and those in fashion at Newmarket. I shall only take notice, that no kind of fraud or violence was allowed of in the former; the competitors in which contended for glory only: an object seldom heartily pursued by those who are sordid enough either to use or connive at the use of fraud. To return to the chariot-race.

But though the master of the horses, for the rea-

sons above mentioned, was proclaimed the conqueror, yet had the horses their share of honour <sup>18</sup>, and were crowned amid the congratulations and applauses of the whole assembly. They who are acquainted with Homer and the poets, will not be surprised at the honours thus imparted to these noble animals, whose nature was by them esteemed not unworthy of a divine original; and whose ardour and emulation in the course seemed to express a sense of glory almost human, and justify the exhortations and expostulations addressed to them in those ancient writings.

A crown was also given to the charioteer, to whose skill and courage the victory was always, in great measure, owing. I say skill and courage, because both the one and the other were absolutely necessary to finish happily a course, which the many short turnings round the pillars, and the number of clariots which sometimes ran together, rendered extremely difficult and dangerous.

To explain the nature of these difficulties and dangers, as well as some particulars relating to the horse-races, I shall here insert a description of the Olympic hippodrome, or horse-course, taken from Pausanias, lib. vi. which is as follows <sup>19</sup>:

As you pass out of the stadium, by the seat of

Τιμάς δε καὶ ῶκεις έλλαχον ιπποι, Οι σφίσιν εξ ειςῶν ς εφανήφοςοι ήνθον ἀγώνων. Theoc. Id. xvi.

<sup>18</sup> Pindar's Olymp. Ode 13. Plut. Sym. lib. li. Q. 4. Paus. lib. vi.

<sup>19</sup> The French translator of Pausanias hath inserted a draught of the Aphesis, or barrier here described, designed by the Chevalier Folard, with which I would willingly have obliged the

the Hellanodics, into the place appointed for the horse-races, you come to the barrier ("Aperis), where the horses and chariots rendezvous before they enter into the course. This barrier in its figure resembles the prow of a ship, with the rostrum, or beak, turned towards the course. The other end, which joins on to the portico of Agaptus, (so named from him who built it, see the preceding book, c. xv.) is very broad. At the extremity of the rostrum, or beak, over a bar that runs across the entrance, (ἐπὶ κανόνος) is placed a figure of a dolphin 20 in brass. On the two sides of this barrier, each of which is above four hundred feet in length, are built stands or lodges, as well for the riding-horses as the chariots, which are distributed by lot among the competitors in those races: and before all these lodges is stretched a cable. from one end to the other, to serve the purpose of a barrier ("orkhnyy @). About the middle of the brow is erected an altar, built of unburnt brick, which every Olympiad is plastered over with fresh mortar; and upon the altar stands a brazen eagle, which spreads out its wings to a great length. This eagle, by means of a machine, which

reader, had I not, by comparing it with Pansanias, discovered so many mistakes in it, that I thought the following description would give him a clearer idea of the barrier and hippodrome of Olympia, without that draught, than with it.

21 The dolphin here is a symbol of Neptune, surnamed Hippins or Equestina, from his having produced a horse by mirking the earth with his trident, according to the fable: without recollecting this circumstance, the reader might be surprised to meet with the figure of a dolphin in a horse-course. The engle is a known symbol of Jupiter, to whom the Olympic Games were consecuted.

is put in motion by the president of the horseraces, is made to mount up at once into the air to such a height, as to become visible to all the spectators; and at the same time the brazen dolphin before mentioned sinks to the ground. Upon that signal the cables, stretched before the lodges on either side of the portico of Agaptus, are first let loose, and the horses there stationed move out and advance till they come over-against the lodges of those who drew the second lot, which are then likewise opened. The same order is observed by all the rest; and in this manner they proceed through the beak, or rostrum; before which they are drawn up in one line or front, ready to begin the race, and make trial of the skill of the charioteers and fleetness of the horses.

On that side of the course, which is formed by a terrace raised with earth, and which is the longest of the two sides, near to the passage that leads out of the course across the terrace, stands an aitar of a round figure, dedicated to Taraxippus, the terror of the horses, as his name imports; of whom more hereafter. The other side of the course is formed not by a terrace of earth, but a hill of a moderate height, at the end of which is erected a temple, consecrated to Ceres Chamyne, whose priestess has the privilege of seeing the Olympic Games.

These are the most remarkable particulars which Pausanias has thought fit to give us, relating to the Olympic hippodrome or horse-race: and though from these we may be able to form a general idea of its figure, yet are there others no less necessary to be known, for the clear under-

standing the nature of the races; such as the length and breadth of the course, the two metas or goals, round which the chariots and horses made their several turnings, with the distance between them; all which we are left to make out by conjecture only.

The hippodrome at Constantinople, of which there are yet some traces remaining, is said by Wieeler to have been about five hundred and fifty ordinary paces long, and about an hundred and twenty broad, and to have been anciently adorned with several excellent ornaments, of which, says he, only three pillars remain for me to give an account of:

The first of these is a pillar (or rather an obelisk) of Egyptian granite, consisting of one stone, about fifty feet long, crected on a pedestal of eight or ten feet above ground. On the north side of the pedestal is a basso-relievo, expressing the manner how this pillar was set up; and another below that representing the hippodrome, as it was before that pillar was set up, with the manner of their horseraces. 'It appears (to make use of his own words) with four principal pillars, with a vacant place in the middle, (where this is now erected) which made the feet all equally distant from each other. The ordinary stadiums of the ancients had but three pillars, being but an hundred and twentyfive paces long, which is a great deal shorter than From the first pillar they started their horses, having the word APIΣΤΕΥΕ, or courage, written on the pillar given them. At the middle they were called upon to make haste, by the word ΣΠΕΥΔΕ, which was written also on the pillar. At the last they were to return, riding about the pillar on the further end; therefore it had the word KAMYON engraven on it. By this bassorelievo is expressed the running of the horses, and the emperor standing in the middle crowning the victor. But what that held up by four pillars, and the other single round pillar were for, we could not conjecture, unless only for ornament.' Wheeler's Travels, lib. ii. p. 183.

Whether the Olympic hippodrome was so long and so wide as this of Constantinople, I will not determine; but that it was considerably longer than an ordinary stadium is evident: for as it appears from the basso-relievo above described by Wheeler, and indeed from medals, and many other remains of antiquity, that there were two pillars placed towards the two extremities of the hippodrome, to serve as metas or goals, round which the chariots and horses made several turnings, a large space of ground must necessarily have been left beyond each of those pillars, that the horses, and especially the chariots, might have sufficient room to make their turnings without running against the pitlars, or falling foul on one another: and this space must have been large enough to admit of a great number of chariots. It has already been said, that Alcibiades, for his own share, brought at one time seven chariots, and certainly he was not without competitors to dispute the crown with him. Sophocles, in a description of a chariot-race, which I shall insert at the end of this section, speaks of ten, and Pindar of no less than forty chariots, contending at one and the same time. If, therefore, in a space of one hundred and twenty-five paces, the measure of an ordinary stadium, room enough be left beyond the two pillars for a large number of chariots to pass, the length remaining for the race will be much too short. A proportionable space must likewise have been left between the pillars, which divided the course in the middle, and the two sides of the hippodrome.

The Circus Maximus (as described by Dion. Hal.) in which the Romans exhibited their chariotraces, was an oval building of three stadia, or eighteen hundred feet in length, and four plethra, or four hundred feet in breadth, with a row of pillars, obelisks, &c. running down the middle; the first and last of which pillars were the metas or goals, round which the chariots and horses made their turnings; but the Romans never suffered more than four chariots, which they called a missus, to start at one time; and of the missus or matches they had commonly twenty-four and sometimes many more, in one day. Now, if it be considered that in the Grecian Games a much greater number of chariots frequently ran together, we may reasonably suppose their hippodromes were at least as capacious as the Circus Maximus at Rome: the dimensions of which, however, were much inferior to those of the hippodrome at Constantinople; which, according to Wheeler, were seven and twenty hundred and fifty feet long, and six hundred broad, taking a pace to be equal to five feet.

The length of the course, by which I mean the distance between the two metas or goals, is another point that can be settled only by conjecture.

Had Wheeler set down the distances of those pillars, which he saw standing in the hippodrome at Constantinople, it would have helped us much in this inquiry : but this I shall refer to the ensuing section, and content myself at present with observing, that both the chariots and horses ran several times up and down the course, and consequently made many turnings round the pillars erected at the two extremities. Pausanias informs us, that in the Olympic hippodrome, near that pillar called Nyssé, which I take to be that erected at the lower end of the course, stood a brazen statue of Hippodamia, holding in her hand a sacred fillet or diadem ( ταινίαν), prepared to bind the head of Pelops for his victory over Œnomaus; and it is probable, that all the space between the pillars was filled with statues or altars. as that in the hippodrome at Constantinople seems to have been. Here, at least, stood the tripod or table, on which were placed the olive crowns and the branches of palm, destined for the victors, as shall be shown hereafter.

From this account it may easily be conceived, that in a chariot-race, both the chariot and the driver were exposed to many accidents, arising from the nature of the course. For as they were obliged to make several turnings (about two and twenty in all) round the two pillars, so did every charioteer endeavour to approach as near them as possible, in order to lessen the compass he was obliged to take. A number of chariots pushing all at once for this advantage, which often gave the victory, must necessarily have been in danger

either of running against the pillar, or falling foul upon one another, and in the tumult many must have been broken or overturned, and their drivers thrown out. This was the fate of forty at one time, as may be seen in an Ode of Pindar <sup>21</sup>, where the poet fails not to congratulate the conqueror, upon his having singly escaped such a misfortune out of so great a number of competitors. It appears also in the same ode, that the victor was not insensible of the singularity of his good fortune; as an acknowledgment for which he consecrated his chariot to Apollo, in whose treasury at Parnassus it was lodged, uninjured and entire, says the poet, as when it came out of the workman's hands.

And, indeed, when we consider the form of the chariots, the attitude of the drivers, the rapidity of the motion, and the accidents just now mentioned, arising from the nature of the course, and the number of chariots that frequently ran together, we shall wonder less at their being thrown out of their chariots, and put in danger of their lives, than at their maintaining their posts amid so many difficulties, and coming off with safety and success. These chariots, by some figures of them upon ancient medals, &c. seem to have been very low, open behind, but closed up before and on the sides with a kind of parapet, which was sometimes enriched with various sorts of ornaments. There does not appear to have been any seat for the driver, who is therefore at ways represented standing, and leaning forward to

<sup>21</sup> Pindar's Pyth. Ode 5. See the Scholiast.

the horses. They had but two wheels, and consequently the fore-part of them must have been supported by the horses, which inevitably rendered their motion very unequal, and made it so difficult for the charioteer to keep upon his legs, that nothing but a long course of practice could insure a man from falling in such a situation. Which, therefore, is the most astonishing, the folly or the vanity of Nero?

This great emperor 22, great I mean in power and dominion, but with regard to all the objects of his ambition very little and contemptible, would needs show his skill in the management of a chariot. He chose indeed the noblest theatre. and offered himself a candidate for the Olympic crown. That his appearance might be no less extraordinary than his ambition, and in some measure proportionable to the majesty of an emperor of the world, he entered the hippodrome at Olympia 23 in a chariot drawn by ten horses, which he undertook to drive himself, notwithstanding, says Suetonius, he had formerly, in a certain poem of his, censured Mithridates for the same thing. But the event was by no means answerable either to the flattery of his courtiers, or the vanity of his own expectations. He was thrown out of his chariot, to the great hazard of his life 24; and though he was put into it again, he found himself unable to finish the race, and desisted. Notwithstanding which, he was proclaimed conqueror, and honoured with the Olympic crown. To return the compli-

<sup>22</sup> Xiph. et Suet. in Nerone,

<sup>24</sup> Xiph. Snet.

<sup>23</sup> Suet. ibid.

ment, at his departure he presented the Hellanodics, or judges of the games, with the sum of 8000 l. 25, and all Greece with her liberty. A present that would have done him infinitely more honour than an Olympic victory, or indeed than any victory, had it been frankly and generously bestowed, and not paid down as the price of adulation, and of a complaisance so mean and servile as shows the Grecians to have been as incapable of liberty as they were unworthy of it. For the equestrian crown was not the only thing with which the Eleans complimented Nero : they broke, in obedience to his orders, the most sacred laws of their institution 26, and put off the celebration of the Olympic Games for a whole year, to wait his coming into Greece; as if their business, says Philostratus, had been to sacrifice to Nero instead of Jupiter. What followed after helps us admirably to discover the true value of that liberty which a tyrant bestows: and the vanity and insincerity of those praises and honours that are extorted from slaves and flatterers. Nero, before his departure, pillaged and wasted Greece <sup>27</sup>, not-withstanding his pretended grant of liberty; put many people to death, and confiscated the estates of others; and the Eleans, on their part, to revoke as much as in them lay the honours they had conferred on Nero, left out of their public register 28

<sup>25</sup> Dion in Nerone, 250,000 drachmas, or 8072l. 18s. 4d. See Arbath. Tables.

<sup>26</sup> Philostr. lib. v.

e7 Xiph. in Nero.

<sup>28</sup> See Scaliger ad Euseb. ad Numb. MMLXXII.

that Olympiad, and that alone. Galba <sup>39</sup> afterwards demanded of the Hellanodics, as a debt to the crown, the eight thousand pounds, with which Nero had rewarded their partiality in adjudging to him the equestrian crown.

Upon the day of the race 30, the chariots at a certain signal marched out of the lodges above described, and entering the course according to the order before settled by lot, were there drawn up in a line; but whether abreast, or one behind another, is a question, it seems, among the learned. Eustathius (in his Comment upon Homer 31) says, the ancients were of opinion that they did not stand in one front; because, it is evident, that he who had the first lot had a great advantage over the other charioteers. The moderns, I believe. are unanimously of the contrary opinion; and can show, that the reason assigned by Eustathins makes not in the least against the method of ranging the chariots all abreast; in which order the charioteer, who stood first, had so clear an advantage over his competitors, as to make it necessary to dispose their places by lot. For as they were to turn round a pillar erected at the farther end of the course, he who had the first place on the left hand was nearer to that pillar, than those who were ranged on his right hand; had a less circle to make upon the turn, and consequently was not obliged to run so great a compass of ground. The advantage, therefore, of the first place, and the

<sup>29</sup> Xiph. in Nero.

<sup>50</sup> Paus lib. vi.

<sup>31</sup> See Pope's Homer, Iliad xxili, ver. 425.

disadvantage of the last, which was always increased in proportion to the number of chariots that contended together, appeared so considerable to the learned Montfaucon, that he seems to think the success of every charioteer must have depended entirely upon his lot. And, indeed, had they been to turn but once, or could it be supposed that they maintained, throughout the whole race, the same order in which they were first arranged by lot, the place could not have been indifferent with regard to the victory; but, as on the contrary, they were obliged to make twelve turnings round that pillar, and ten round another erected at the hither end of the course, the advantage of the one, and the disadvantage of the other, must have been liable to be lost and recovered many times in the race, by the skill of the charioteers, the swiftness of the horses, or some of those accidents already mentioned. should also be considered, that though the charioteer, who was placed first on the left hand, had some advantage over the rest by being nearer the pillar, yet he must have oftentimes been straitened for room upon the turn, especially if hard pressed by his competitors, and consequently have been driven so near the pillar, as to endanger the breaking or overturning his chariot. In avoiding, therefore, this danger, and in making these turnings in as little a compass as possible, consisted the chief excellence of a charioteer; as is evident from the large instructions which old Nestor 32 gives his sen

<sup>32</sup> Homer's Il. xxiii.

Antilochus upon that head; and from what Theocritus tells us of the education of Hercules <sup>13</sup>, whose supposed father Amphitryon himself took the pains to teach him the management of the chariot, though he left all his other exercises to be taught him by other masters.

> But fond Amphiryon with a father's zeal, Skilid himself to guide the rapid wheel, In his own at instructs his godlike her, And teaches how to rate the whirling car; How at the turn with nicest heed to roll, Nor break the grazing axie on the goal.

It was, however, as much the business of a charioteer to approach as near as possible to this pillar, as it was to avoid running foul upon it. To this point, therefore, as to a centre, they all tended; and let any one imagine what a noise, what a bustle and confusion, ten, twenty, and sometimes forty chariots <sup>34</sup>, must have made, bursting, at the sound of a trumpet <sup>35</sup>, all together from the barrier! and pressing all to the same point! What skill and courage in the charioteers! What obedience, what strength and swiftness in the horses! What ardour and emulation in both must have been requisite to maintain the advantages, which their own lots had given them, or to surmount those of their antaronists!

Seest 36 thou not how, when from the goal they start The youthful charioteers with beating heart Rush to the race, and panting, scarcely hear The extremes of feverish hope and chilling fear;

53 Idyll. xxiv. ver. 117.

31 Pindar.

35 Soph, Electra.

36 Virg. Georg. iii.

Stoop to the reins, and lash with all their force; The flying chariot kindles in the course.

And now a low, and now aloft they fly,
As borne through air, and seem to touch the sky,
No stop, no stay; but clouds of sand arise,
Spurn'd and cast backward on the follower's eyes:
The hindmost blows the foam upon the first:
Such is the love of praise, an honourable thirst!

BURDEN DENDER

But this was not all; they were to meet with more difficulties, and of another kind, in the middle of the course, and contend with the terrors of a deity, who sometimes snatched the victory from him, who seemed to have carried it away from his competitors. The name of this deity was Taraxippus, a name given him from his office; which was to scare and terrify the horses, who accordingly, as they passed by his altar, which was of a round form, and erected at the further end of the course, were wont to take fright, says Pausanias 37, without any apparent cause : and so great was their consternation, that, regarding no longer the rein, the whip, or the voice of their master, they frequently broke and overturned the chariot. and wounded the driver. The charioteers, therefore, failed not to offer sacrifices to Taraxippus, in order to deprecate his wrath, and render him favourable to them.

I shall not trouble the reader with the various opinions relating to this pretended deity and his terrors, which are to be met with in Pausanias. I am apt to believe, with the French translator of that author, that (if, as Pausanias insinuates, there

87 Lib. vi. c. 20.

was any thing extraordinary in this matter) the fright of the horses was owing to some artifice of those who presided at the Olympic Games, and who, (as he farther remarks) in order to make the victory more glorious, were willing to make the way to it more hazardous and difficult.

But though the old saying, 'the more danger, the more honour,' may seem to countenance this remark of the French Abbé, ought we not rather to suppose, that the Eleans (whose views in every part of this institution seem to have been directed to some wise purpose) intended by these terrors to exclude the competition of all those whose horses were not thoroughly broke, and taught not to be alarmed at any sudden noise, or unusual appearance? A quality in horses at least as valuable, both for service and pleasure, as fleetness, or any accomplishment acquired in the manage.

I cannot help observing by the way, that the Grecians must have been credulous and superstiti us even to stupidity, and the Eleans consummate masters in all the juggling tricks and artifices of imposture, for a fraud of this nature to have been carried on for so long a time, and in so public a place as the hippodrome of Olympia, in the name of a divinity; and conducted with so much secresy and success, as to bring votaries to his altar with offerings and supplications; but Olympia was not the only place in which this imaginary deity was adored; there was likewise a Taraxippus in the Isthmian hippodronie, as Pausanias informs us; who adds, that in Nemea indeed there was no deity concerned in terrifying the horses, but then there was a rock, standing near

the pillar round which they turned, of the colour of fire, with the brightness of which they were wont to be as much terrified as with that of fire itself: but he observes at the same time, that the terror, which seized the horses at the sight of this rock, was much inferior to that excited by the Taraxippus of Olympia. The same author, speaking afterwards (lib. x.) of the terrors with which the horses were sometimes seized in the Pythic hippodrome, ascribes them to fortune, whom he styles the dispenser of good and evil in all human affairs, and to whom he seems to have recourse merely because there was no Taraxippus at Delphi, nor any terrifying object, like the fiery rock at Nemea, to help him to a solution in a case, which nothing but ignorance and superstition could consider as extraordinary.

Sophocles 38, in his tragedy of Electra, hath given us a very noble description of a chariot-race in all its forms, a translation of which I shall insert in this place, as well for the entertainment of the reader, as for the sake of verifying what has been said above by so unexceptionable an authority.

## A Description of a Chariot-Race.

When, on the second day, in order next Came on the contest of the rapid ear, As o'er the Phodan plain the orient sun Shot his impurpled beams, the Pythic course Orestee enter'd, circled with a troop Of charioteers, his bold antagonists.

One from Achaia came, from Sparta one, Two from the Libyan shores, well practiced each

<sup>58</sup> Ver. 700, &c,

To rule the whirling car: with these, the fifth. Orestes vaunting his Thessalian mares. Ætolia sent a sixth, with vouthful steeds In native gold array'd. The next in rank From fair Magnesia sprung; of Thrace the eighth His snow-white courses from Thesprotia drove : From heaven-built Athens the ninth hero came: A huge Bœotian the tenth chariot fill'd. These, when the judges of the Games by lot Had fix'd their order, and arrang'd the cars. All, at the trumpet's signal, all at once Burst from the barrier, all together cheer'd Their fiery steeds, and shook the floating reins. Soon with the din of rattling cars was fill'd The sounding hippodrome, and clouds of dust Ascending, tainted the fresh breath of morn; Now, mix'd, and press'd together, on they drove; Nor spar'd the smarting lash, impatient each To clear his chariot, and outstrip the throng Of clashing axles, and short-blowing steeds, That panted on each other's necks, and threw On each contiguous voke the milky foam,

But to the pillar as he nearer drew, Orestes, reining in the near-most steed, While in a larger scope, with loosen'd reins, And lash'd up to their speed, the others flew, Turn'd swift around the goal his grazing wheel.

As yet erect apon their whirling orbs
Roll'd every charlot, till the hard-mouth'd steeds,
That drew the Thraclan car, unmaster'd broke
With violence away, and turning slort,
(When o'er the hippoirone with winged speed
They had completed now the seventh career)
Dash'd their wild foreheads 'zeinst the Libyan car.
From this one lockless chance a train of ills
Succeeding, rudely on each other fell
Horses and charlotters, and soon was fill'd
With wrecks of shatter'd cars the Fhocian plain.

This seen, the' Athenian with consummate art His course obliquely year'd, and steering wide With steady rein, the wild commotion pass'd And hopes of victory, Greates came;
But when he awy, of his antagonats
Him only now remaining; to his mares
Anatous he rais'd his stimulating voice,
Now with alternate momentary pride
Beyond each other push'd their stretching steeds,
Erect Orestes, and erect his car
Through all the number'd courses now had stood;
But lackless in the last, as round the goal
The wheeling courser turn'd, the hither rein
Lunyradent he relax'd, and on the stone
The shatter'd axle dashing, from the wheels
Fell headlong, lamper'd in the tanging reins.

The throng'd assembly, when they saw the chief burl'd from his charlot, with compassion mov'd, His youth deplor'd, deplor'd him glorions late For mighty deeds, now doom'd to mighty woes, Now draged' along the dost, his feet in air: Till hasting to his aid, and scarce at leugh The frantic mares restraining, from the relas The charlotters releav'd him, and convey'd Wilh wounds and gore disging 'd to his friends. 'The just Amphicityons on the' Athenian steeds The Delphic laurel solemnity confer'd.'

The trighted mares flew divers o'er the course.

### SECTION XIII.

### OF THE SEVERAL KINDS OF CHARIOT-RACES.

THE laws and customs of the chariot-race having been explained in the foregoing section, it remains to take notice only, that these laws were general, and extended equally to all the various species of chariots; excepting that the length of the race was diminished for some of them, as I shall observe presently.

The chariot first introduced into the Olympic hippodrome, and that of which I have been hitherto speaking, was the  $\gamma i \lambda n \sigma$   $\alpha \mu \omega^{\gamma}$ , or complete chariot, so named either because it was drawn by full-aged horses, or because it was drawn by four horses, which number seems to have made a complete set among the ancients. These four horses were all ranged abreast, the two middle ones only were harmessed to the chariot by the yoke, from whence they were called zygii, the two side horses were fastened either to the yoke  $^{2}$ , or to some other part of the chariot by their traces, and were called pareori, paraseiri, seirophori, and seirei, and their reins or traces seira and pareoria.

Ericthonius, according to Virgil, was the first that drove with four horses, and, according to Manilius, was for that invention honoured with a place among the heavenly bodies.

Primus Ericthonius currus, et quatuor ausus Jungere equos, rapidisque rotis insistere victor. Vir. Geor. iil

Quem curru primum volitantem Jupiter alto Quadrijugis conspexit equis, caloque sacravit 3.

Pagondas of Thebes had the honour of first obtaining the prize of this sort of chariot-race in the Olympic Games <sup>4</sup>; as Ericthonius had in the Games called Panathenæa.

- 1 Tiheov signifies adultus as well as perfectus.
- 2 Cælius Rhodig.
- 3 Manil. lib. i. p. 12. l. 22. Edit. Scalig.
- 4 See Serv. in Virg. loc, cit.

In the ninety-third Olympiad was added the race of the chariot called synoris, which was drawn by a yoke, or one pair only of full-aged horses.

The avené was a chariot drawn by two mules. after the manner of the synoris, as Pausanias tells us, and was introduced into the Olympic Games by one Asandrastus, as we learn from Pindar's Scholiast 5. I have called it a chariot, though if it resembled the apené described by Homer in the xxivth Iliad 6, it should more properly be called a waggon; and indeed that account of it agrees best with what Pausanias says 7, who observes that the race of the apené could pretend neither to antiquity nor beauty, and that mules were held in such abomination by the Eleans, that they permitted none of those animals to be bred in their country. And indeed the race of the apené was but of a short continuance, having been abolished within a very few Olympiads after its first admission.

Pausamas and the Greek commentator upon Pindar 8, differ so widely in their accounts of the times when the apené was admitted and abolished. that it would be in vain for me to endeavour to reconcile them; especially as the latter disagrees even with himself. I shall therefore follow the account of Pausanias, who at least is consistent with himself; and according to whom the apené was introduced into the Olympic Games in the seventieth Olympiad, and abolished by proclamation in the eighty-fourth %.

In the ninety-ninth Olympiad was introduced

5 Olymp, Od. 5, 6 Ver. 265. 7 Lib. v. c. 9.

9 Lib. v. c. 9.

8 Olymp. Od. 5.

the Πώλικον αρμασ, which was a chariot drawn by four colts, as is evident from what Pausanias <sup>16</sup> immediately subjoins concerning the Συναρί; Πώλων, or chariot drawn by two colts, which, he tells us, was introduced in the hundred and twenty-ninth Olympiad, and that one Belistiche, a Macedonian lady, was the first that carried off the crown in that race.

I shall now endeavour to settle the different lengths of the race assigned to each species of these chariots; a point not yet determined by any author that I know of. In order to this, I shall beg leave to produce two passages, one from Pindar, and another from his Scholiast. That of Pindar is as follows:

Α. Τῶν νὶν γλυκὸς ιμις τές τος εν Δωδικάγναμπῖον στις τίς μα δεόμε "Ιππων φυτεῦσαι 11.

The words of the Scholiast 3 explaining this passage are, ήγεν ο δαδεκάκις οἱ άγωνιζομενοι τεθείπποις στεμήςχοι]ο ἡ δωδεκάγναμπίοι τὸ ιδ΄ γναμπίθες ἔχον ἐπαδή καὶ ιδ΄ δεόμες ἐποία τὸ τέλκον αεμα τῶν ἔππων, τὸ δὲ σωλικὸν, ἡ.

Tέρμα, in this passage of Pindar, signifies the pillar erected at the end of the course, round

10 Lib. v. c. 8. 11 Olymp. Ode 3. v. 58.

Quarum [arborum, Olivarum scilicet] cum [Herculem] dulce desiderium habebat, duodecies inflexum circa terminum curriculi equorum plantare.

12 Σκόλια Νεωτ.

Nempe terminum. Quem duodecles circulbant quadrigæ; vel δωδεκώντα μπίου, utpote duodecim flexus habentem: quandoquidem duodecim cursus perfecit το τίλειον αρμα πυώλικον verò octo. which the chariots turned, as has been shown, and the epithet δωδικάγγαμπ 100 applied to that imports, that they turned twelve times round that pillar; and consequently that they ran twelve times up, and as often down the course.

 $\Delta \rho \delta \mu \omega_c$  signifies cursus, a race or course, and because (as I suppose) the first race  $t^3$  at Olympia consisted only of one length of the stadium, it came to signify, when applied to the foot-races, the measure of one length of the stadium, as is evident from the following passages  $t_3$   $\delta \iota \omega \nu \omega_c$   $\delta e \delta \iota \omega \omega_c$   $\delta \delta \iota \omega \nu \omega_c$   $\delta \epsilon \omega \omega_c$   $\delta \omega_c$ 

But Agout, when applied to the horse-races, signified a course of four stadia, as is evident from these words of Hesychius; έππαος δρόμος τέλραradios Tis, and from these of Pansanias, deouos δέ είσι τε ίππίε μηκος μεν δίαυλοι δυω. Now as δώδεκα δρόμες and δώδεκο γναμπίες in the above cited passage from the scholiast of Pindar are plainly of the same import, we are to understand by δεόμω iππείω, a course consisting of one turn, or round, once up and down the hippodrome; which whole course, or round, being equal to four stadia, it may from hence be inferred, that the two pillars (viz. that from which the horses started, and that round which they turned) which divided the course into two equal lengths, were two stadia distant from each other, consequently the whole length

<sup>13</sup> The stadium, or simple foot-race.

<sup>14</sup> Tzetzes, citatus à P. Fabro Agonist. lib. i. c. 28.

of the race of the τέλκος ἄςμα, or chariot drawn by full-aged horses, consisting of twelve rounds, amounted to forty-cight stadia, or six Grecian miles; that of the πώλικο αςμα, or chariot drawn by colts, consisting of eight rounds, to two and thirty stadia, or four Grecian miles. A Grecian mile (according to Arbuthuot's computation) was somewhat more than eight hundred paces; an English mile is equal to 1036.

Under the two denominations of the TEXHOY COMO and wωλικον αρμα, the scholiast of Pindar meant, as I imagine, to comprehend all the species of chariots; which he hath ranked in two classes, not by the number but the age of the horses: as appears from his putting στώλικον αρμα in opposition, or contra-distinction to τέλμον αρμα. For τέλμος, as I observed before, signifies not only perfectus, but adultus also. By the words TELHON ARMA, therefore, in this place, we are to understand a chariot drawn by full-aged horses, which takes in the synoris, or chariot and pair of full-aged horses; as well as the τέθειππον, or chariot and four : and by σώλικον αρμα, a chariot drawn by colts, or under-aged horses, whether four or only two in number. The race of which latter consisted of eight rounds, that of the former of twelve.

That the race of the \$\pi\(\text{Alkno}\) ac\_{\text{plan}}(\text{por}) or chariot drawn by under-aged horses, though four in number, consisted only of eight rounds, is evident from the passage of Sophoeles, a translation of which was inserted at the end of the preceding section. For as the words \(\text{sigmain}\) \(\text{first}\) (ver. 742 of the original) prove that the chariot of Orestes was drawn by four horses, so doth the word \(\pi\(\text{Alkno}\)\) (wether the borses).

were under-aged: and whoever considers attentively what is there said about the sixth and seventh round. έχλον καλ ε6δομον δεόμον, will find reason to conclude, that the accident which befel Orestes happened in the last and eighth round. Though Du Faur thinks it manifest from this very passage, that the chariotrace, at least in the times of Sophocles or Orestes. consisted of no more than seven rounds. he observed that the eight chariots, which are there said to have been overturned, were then running the seventh round: and that Orestes, who with the Athenian still continued the race, was thrown out of his chariot some time after; he must have seen that the race consisted of more than seven rounds: and that it consisted precisely of eight we have reason to conclude, from what has been produced from the scholiast of Pindar, relating to the www.xxxx αρμα, or chariot drawn by under-aged horses.

Indeed, the whole story of Orestes contending in the Pythian Games, was a mere forgery of the poet, to serve the purposes of his tragedy: it is, however, to be presumed, that in order to give it the greater air of truth and probability, he kept close to the laws and customs of those Games. And as the laws and customs relating to the same kinds of exercises, seem to have been the same in the several sacred Games of Greece, it is very allowable in all parallel cases to apply to one what is related of the other. Thus, as we are told by Pindar's Scholiast, that the race of the chariot drawn by under-aged horses consisted of eight rounds in the Olympic Games, we may affirm the same of the same kind of race in the Pythian Games; and in like manner we may conclude, that the signal for starting was given by the sound of a trumpet in the Olympic chariot-races, from Sophocles having informed us that this was the signal given in the Pythic hippodrome.

## SECTION XIV.

## OF THE RACE OF RIDING-HORSES.

THAT chariots were in use before riding-horses need not be observed to any one, that is acquainted with Homer; among all whose heroes, Greek and Trojan, there is not one that ever makes his appearance on horseback, excepting Diomedes and Ulysses , mounted upon the horses of Rhesus. which they had taken in their expedition by night. after having killed their master in his sleep. appears, however, by this instance, that neither the heroes, nor the horses, were utter strangers to the art of riding: as by another passage in the fifteenth Idyllia it is evident, that horsemanship was carried even to some degree of perfection, at least in the time of that poet, who lived but in the next generation after the siege of Troy, according to Sir Isaac Newton. The passage 2 last mentioned is as follows:

- . 'Ως δ' ઉંτ' લેમોટ ιπποισι κεληλίζειν, &c.
- So when a horseman from the watry mead, Skill'd in the manage of the bounding steed, Drives four fair coursers, practis'd to obey,
  - To some great city through the public way:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Il. K. <sup>2</sup> Il. O. ver. 679. Pope's Il. xv. ver. 822.

more than a riding horse 6, and consequently that by the word  $\kappa i \lambda n_i / (\zeta_{ep}$ , which is derived from  $\kappa i \lambda n_5$ , no more is to be understood in this place than simply to ride.

This interpretation of xing (celes) may be further confirmed by the authorities of Pindar and Pausanias, particularly by a story related in the last mentioned author of a mare 7, named Aura, belonging to one Phidolas, a Corinthian. This mare, says the historian, having accidentally thrown her rider soon after she had started from the barrier. continued the race of her own accord, and turned round the pillar, as if the rider had been still upon her back; upon hearing the trumpet she mended her pace, till coming in before her antagonists, she stopped short over-against the judges of the Games, as conscious of having gained the victory. The victory was accordingly adjudged to her master Phidolas, who, by erecting in return a statue to her honour, intimated to whom the merit of that victory was due.

In this story there are two or three particulars worth observing: as first, there is no mention of any other horse or mare, that shared the victory with Aura; and consequently, in the race called celes, each competitor made use of but one single horse. Secondly, I shall take notice, that the victorious Aura was of the femining gender, and from

That this is the true meaning of K(λης is confirmed by the following words of Suidas, K(λης δ μόνος ἔππος, καὶ δ ἐπὶ τότα φιρόμενος σελλάμος δ γυμκός. By which hast words also it looks as if the ruler was naked, like the athletes who confended in the gynnastic exercises.

<sup>7</sup> Lib. vi. c. 13.

thence take occasion to acquaint the reader, that in all the races, as well of riding horses as of chariots, mares or horses were indifferently used; excepting in the race named  $calp\ell$ , in which mares only were employed, as I shall show presently. In the third place, it is observable, that though the rider was thrown off in the very beginning of the race, yet was the crown awarded to Phidolas, the master of Aura; to whom certainly no less was due, than if his mare had conquered under the conduct and direction of her rider.

By the circumstances of Aura's mending her pace upon hearing the trumpet, I think we may conclude, that the trumpet either did not sound during the whole race, but at the last round only, or that it sounded differently in different periods of the course. There was a meaning in the sound of the trumpet, which Aura understood. She was probably an old stager there, or had been made acquainted in the manage with all the rules and customs observed in the hippodrome at Olympia.

The race of full-aged riding horses, of which I have been hitherto speaking, was instituted in the thirty-third Olympiad, and that of the  $\pi \omega \lambda_{0s}$ ,  $\pi i \lambda_{ns}$ , or under-aged riding horse, in the one hundred and thirty-first,

I shall not here enter into the question, how it came to pass that the use of riding-horses was posterior to that of chariots; since that question can be answered only by conjectures. The fact is so notorious, that, according to Mons. Folard, chariots were used in war above a thousand years be-

<sup>8</sup> Obser, sur la Battaille de Messenie.

fore there was any such thing as cavalry among the ancients; the use of which, one would imagine, says that gentleman, should notwithstanding have come into their heads before that of chariots. They seem to have had a terrible notion of being mounted upon the back of a horse, and have accordingly made monsters of those people whom they first beheld in that attitude; to which they were not very speedily reconciled. Time, indeed, wore off that amazement by degrees; and their intercourse with other nations not only rendered riding-horses familiar to them, but convinced them likewise of the advantages accruing from the use of cavalry. Whence it came to pass, that an order of equites, or horsemen, was instituted in most of their commonwealths: to whom, as in Athens, was allotted the second rank in the state. Upon the same principle, perhaps, was the immos xing, or riding-horse, admitted into the Olympic hippodrome, and held in such estimation, that although the race of ridinghorses was neither so magnificent nor so expensive. and consequently not so royal, as the chariot-race, vet we find, among the competitors in this exercise. the names of Philip king of Macedon, and Hiero king of Syracuse. To the latter is the first Olympic Ode of Pindar inscribed, in which honourable mention is made of the horse Pherenicus, whose fleetness gained for his master the Olympic crown.

The race of the calpé was performed with mares; from whose backs the riders were accustomed to leap towards the latter end, that is, in the last stage or period of the course; and laying hold of the bridles finished the race in that manner. The same custom is still observed, says Pausanias, by those

riders called anabatæ, between whom and the riders in the calpé there is no other difference, than that the anabatæ are distinguished by some particular marks, which they carry about them, and ride upon horses instead of mares. The race of the calpé was instituted in the seventy-first Olympiad, and, together with the apené, abolished in the eighty-fourth.

We are not to conclude from what Pausanias says of the unabatae, that the calpé was afterwards revived under another name, and admitted again into the Olympic Games, with those alterations he speaks of. Had this been the case, he would undoubtedly have told us so expressly, after having been so particular in his account of the times in which the calpé was instituted and abolished.

I cannot give the reader any information of the length of this race, nor of those of the celes: but I think it reasonable to suppose, that the latter, distinguished, as has been observed, into two classes, one of full-aged, and the other of under-aged horses, consisted of the same number of rounds as those of the chariots, distinguished in like manner into two classes.

Neither can I determine the different ages that ranked the horses in one or the other class; nor whether the weight of the riders, or the sizes of the horses, were taken into consideration. All I can say to it is, that those points seem to have been left to the discretion of the Hclanodics, who were appointed to examine the young horses that were entered to run for any of the equestrian zrowns 3, and who were sworn before the statue of

<sup>9</sup> Pans, lib. v. c. 24.

Jupiter Horcius, to give a true and impartial judgment upon the matters left to their examination, without taking any reward; and not to discover the reasons which disposed them to reject some and admit others.

# SECTION XV.

### OF THE CANDIDATES FOR THE OLYMPIC CROWN.

FROM what has been said in the preceding sections of the nature of the several exercises, of which the Olympic Games consisted, it is natural to conclude that every one, who fancied himself qualified for obtaining an Olympic victory, was admitted to contend for it. But if it be considered that the Olympic Games were part of a religious festival, instituted in honour of the king and father of all the Pagan deities, and solemnized with the utmost splendour and magnificence, by pompous deputations from every state of Greece; that the assembly, from the great concourse of people of all orders and conditions, who upon these occasions usually resorted to Olympia, either from devotion or curiosity, or other motives, must have been very namerous and august: and, lastly, that a victory in the Olympic Games was attended with many considerable honours and immunities: whoever, I say, will take these several points into consideration, will not be surprised to find all those, who offered themselves as candidates for the Olympic crown, before they were admitted to contend for it, subjected to such conditions, as were necessary to maintain that

order and decorum, which became so sacred and solemn an institution: and required to pass through such an examination, as might tend to exclude all, who should in any degree appear unworthy of the honour of contending for the Olympic olive.

What these were I shall now proceed to show. Some time before the celebration of the Games, the candidates were obliged to give in their names to one of the Hellanodics, and to specify at the same time the several exercises in which they purposed to contend. I say some time, because it is not certain how long before the Games they were obliged to do this; nor whether they were required to do it in person, or whether a notification of such an intention by a messenger, or by letter only, was deemed sufficient.

The candidates, indeed, for the equestrian crown, were exempted from personal attendance, even in the day of trial; and consequently had the privilege of entering their names by proxy.

Mons. Burette ' pretends, that this privilege was

Mons. Burette ' pretends, that this privilege was equally allowed to the other candidates; for which, however, he produces no authority. And indeed, I cannot see of what service it could have been to them, considering the obligation they were under frepairing to Elis, by a certain day, under the penalty of being excluded from contending for the crown: an evidence of which Pausanias' hath given us in the instance of Apollonius Rhantis. Apollonius, who was of Alexandria, was not only fined by the Hellauodics for contumacy, in not appearing on the day appointed; but not permitted

<sup>1 2</sup> Mem. sur les Athletes.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. v. c. 21.

to engage in the combat, notwithstanding he pretended to have been detained in the Cyclades by contrary winds. Heraclides, his countryman and antagonist, took care to prove the falsehood of that plea; and showed that the true reason of Apollonius's coming so late, was his staying to pick up the lucrative prizes in the several Games of Ionia. Apollonius upon this, and some other candidates who were in the same circumstance, were excluded the combat; and Heraclides, without a battle, obtained the crown; at which Apollonius was so exasperated, that, armed as he happened to be with the cæstus for the engagement, he ran upon Heraclides, who was receiving the crown, and pursued him even to the seat of the Hellanodics; which childish fury, says Pausanias, had like to have cost him dear.

By this story it is evident there was a time prefixed for the appearance of the candidates; but we are left again to conjecture how much that time preceded the celebration of the Games, though I think there are some very good marks to direct us in that inquire.

I have already observed, that though the Games themselves lasted but five days, the preparation for the Games took up thirty. These thirty days were employed in exercising the candidates, as Tzetzes and Philostratus <sup>3</sup> inform us; from whence it may be inferred, that they were required to resort to Elis at least thirty days before the celebration of the Games.

The custom of putting the candidates into a

<sup>3</sup> In Lycoph, in Vit. Apoll, lib. v.

course of exercise for thirty days before the Games, furnishes us with a very good reason for the rigid proceeding of the Hellanodics with regard to Apollonius. It was for the dignity of the Olympic Games that none should be admitted to contend in them without being duly prepared 4. The preparation was accordingly very severe, and the exercises enjoined the candidates upon that occasion, were more laborious and intense than upon any other. They were attacked in every part of their science. and put upon trying to the utmost their patience and fortitude, in supporting hunger and thirst, and heat and cold, and toil, continued sometimes, without intermission, for a whole day together. This trial the candidates were obliged to undergo, that they might be thoroughly acquainted with their own strength before they entered the stadium: and not, by rashly engaging in an attempt to which they were by no means equal, run the hazard of disgracing a spectacle which all Greece was assembled to behold: and of villifying, by an unworthy competition, that crown, for which the most eminent, and most deserving, were always candidates.

We may conclude, however, by Apollonius's pleading against the sentence of the Hellanodics, that they had a power of dispensing with the non-observance of this law, in cases where the offence was involuntary, and proceeded from accidents, which were either unforeseen or unavoidable; such as sickness, contrary winds, and many other: but then such accident must have been fully proved, without fraud or equivocation; which indeed it was

<sup>4</sup> Fab. Agon. Lib. i. c. 32, &c. Lib. ix. c. 10, 11, 16.

not very easy for a candidate to make use of without being detected, either by his antagonist, or by some one in an assembly, that was composed of inhabitants of every city, nay, even of every village throughout Greece.

The place where the preparatory exercises were performed, was the old gymnasium in Elas', where the Hellandics attended every day, as well to distribute the proper exercises to the several classes of eandidates, as to see that they were duly performed: though it is to be supposed, that in the performance of them the caudidates were governed entirely by the several masters of the gymnasium, whose office it was to prescribe the manner, and regulate the proportion of each exercise.

Near this gymnasium was the forum of the Eleans, in which, says Pausanias 6, they were wont to break and exercise their horses, and from thence was the forum named hippodromos, or the horse-course. But I am afraid it cannot be concluded from this passage, that the horses, which were entered to run for the several equestrian crowns, were, like the gymnastic candidates, obliged to go through a preparatory course of exercise. That they were indeed kept in constant exercise, there is little room to doubt; but whether that was done in compliance with any law or custom of the Olympic Games, or at the discretion of their masters, is, I think, not at all evident.

There is the same uncertainty relating to the time, in which the competitors for the equestrian crown were required to enter their names, and

<sup>5</sup> Paus. lib. vi. c. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Lib. vi. c. 24.

send their chariots and their horses to Olympia. But it is not unlikely, that in all things, excepting personal attendance, they were subject to the same regulations with the other candidates, as they undoubtedly were in some instances that I shall mention presently. If this be so, all the above stated difficulties will be removed; and it will be clear that the equestrian candidates were required to enter their names, and send their chariots and their horses to Elis, at least thirty days before the celebration of the Games; and that the charioteers and riders, who were in these cases allowed to be proxies for their masters, were subject to the customary preparation, and consequently went through a proper course of exercise during the said thirty days.

The probability of this argument will appear yet stronger, when we come to consider the oath taken by the gymnastic candidates, before they were finally admitted : and from which there is no reason to think that the equestrian candidates were exempted. The former in this swear, that they had exactly performed every thing required of them by way of exercise, for ten months together, In these ten months were included, as I suppose, the thirty days or month spent in exercising themselves in Elis; for the other nine they were probably left at liberty to practise, each in the gumnasium of his own town or country. That only thirty days of this ten months preparation were spent in Elis, is, I think, evident from the following words of Philostratus 7: Ἡλεῖοι τὸς ἀθλητὰς ἐπεδάν ηκη

<sup>7</sup> Vit. Ap. lib. v.

'Ολύμπια γυμνάζεσιν ήμερων τριάκονλα εν άυλή τη HAIR; that is, 'The Eleans, upon the approach of the Olympic Games, exercise the athletes for thirty days together in the town of Elis itself.'

The same author tells us, that this long and severe probation, which the candidates were obliged to undergo, first at home, and afterwards at Elis, was usually concluded with an exhortation, addressed to them by the Hellanodics, before their departure for Olympia. 'If ye have exercised yourselves in a manner suitable to the dignity of the Olympic Games, and are conscious of having done no action that betrays a slothful, cowardly, and illiberal disposition, proceed boldly. If not; depart, all ye that are so minded.'

But notwithstanding this permission to depart, there is an instance of a pancratiast, one Serapion, of Alexandria, who in the 201st Olympiad was punished for running away the day before the battle was to have come on; he was afraid, it seems, of his antagonists, and fled : for which piece of cowardice, he was fined by the Hellanodics; who, to perpetuate the memory both of the punishment and the crime, out of that fine erected a statue to Jupiter. There is no other instance (says Pausanias) of the like offence; but this alone is sufficient to demonstrate, that it was reckoned a kind of desertion in a candidate, to retire before a combat in which he had listed himself to engage.

But this flight of Serapion must be supposed to have happened after his arrival at Olympia; where, at the opening of the Games, a herald publicly proclaimed the names of all the candidates, as they were entered in a register, kept by the Hellanodics for that purpose; together with the exact number of competitors in each kind of exercise. For a candidate to decline the combat, after having declared himself a competitor, and in so public a manner, as it were, defied his antagonists, was certainly a kind of desertion worthy of disgrace and punishment.

After (and, as I imagine, immediately after) the herald had thus called over the candidates, who doubtless appeared and answered to their names, they were obliged to undergo an examination of another kind, consisting of the following interrogatories: '1. Were they freemen? 2. Were they Gregians? 3. Were their characters clear from all infamous and immoral stains?'

That the candidates for the Olympic crown were to be freemen, is sufficiently evident from a passage in Dionysius of Halicarnassus 8; who, as a rhetorician, laying down rules for harangiting them before they entered into the stadium, among other topics, which he there recommends as proper on that occasion to be insisted upon, advises the orator to remind them of their being free; a consideration (says he) that ought to preserve those who value themselves upon that title from incurring, by the commission of any base or unworthy action, the punishments due only to slaves. punishments, in this place, is meant (besides fines. exclusion from the Games, &c.) the bodily correc-· tion that was inflicted by order of the Hellanodics 9 upon those who were guilty of an irregularity, of any fraudulent or corrupt practices; which, as they

<sup>8</sup> In Protreptico Athlet.

<sup>9</sup> See Fab. Agon. lib, i. c. 19.

are the genuine product of mean and servile minds, ought therefore to be repressed by servile punishments.

The story of Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedon, as it is related by Herodotus 10, may serve to show that none but Grecians were admitted to contend in the Olympic Games.

Alexander, being ambitious of obtaining the Olympic crown, entered himself a candidate among those who aimed at winning that bouour in the foot-race: but was objected to by his antagonists as being a Macedonian, and told, that harbarians were not admitted to contend in those Games. Alexander thought fit to clear himself of this objection; and showed, that although he was prince of Macedon, he was descended of a family that came originally from Argos. The Hellanodics allowed of his pretensions, and received him as a competitor for the Olympic crown, which nevertheless he did not obtain.

Upon this point of the extraction of the candidates, the Eleans were so scrupulous as to admit none who could not declare his father and his mother, and show that there was no bastardy or adultery in his lineage. For this piece of intelligence we are indebted to Themistius ", who instances in the case of one Philammon; upon whose extraction some doubts arising, he was not suffered to engage, till one Aristotle vouched for him, and adopted him for his son.

Hence, in all probability, was derived that law

to Lib, v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See Faber's Agon, lib. iii, c. 17. Themist. Orat. p. 249. Edit. Hardouin.

by which the candidates were required to enter, together with their own names, those of their fathers and their countries; though, with regard to the latter, they were sometimes permitted to adopt a country, and style themselves of kingdoms or cities different from those where they were born; as may be proved by many instances, particularly in Pausanias and Pindar <sup>12</sup>. Are we to conclude, from what is said above of Aristotle's adopting Philammon for his son, that an adopted father also would sometimes serve the turn instead of a natural father, and pass muster in like manner with the Hellanodics?

We find the first and last of the three abovementioned articles inserted in the proclamation made by the herald, when the candidates passed in review along the stadium, which was performed in the following manner:

A herald <sup>13</sup>, after having proclaimed silence, laid his hand upon the head of the candidate, and leading him in that manner along the stadium, demanded, with a loud voice, of all the assembly, 'Is there any one, who can accuse this man of any crime? Is he a robber or a slave? Or wicked and depraved, in his life and morals? And, probably, it was in answer to such a challenge as this, and upon a like occasion, that Themistocles stood up, and objected to Hiero, king of Syracuse, as a tyrant. For Plutarch <sup>14</sup> (after Theophrastus) relates, that Hiero having sent his horses to Olymelates, that Hiero having sent his horses to Olymelates.

<sup>19</sup> Lib. vi. passim, et Pind, Olymp. Qde 9.

<sup>13</sup> St. Chrysost, apud Fab. Agon, lib. iii. c. 12.

<sup>14</sup> In Themist.

pia, in order to contend for the equestrian crown, and having prepared for their reception a magnificent pavilion. Themistocles stood up, and in a speech told the Grecians, that they ought to pull down the tyrant's pavilion, and not suffer his horses to contend. As there is no particular crime laid to the charge of Hiero, and no objection raised against him as a foreigner or barbarian, the whole of the accusation brought against this monarch by Themistocles, seems to consist in the word Turant (tyrant), which, among the Grecians, signified a man, that either usurped, or possessed by means of the usurpation of his predecessors, a monarchical or sovereign authority, in prejudice to the liberties of the people, though he afterwards exercised that anthority with justice and virtue. This was the case of Pisistratus, of Gelo, and his brother Hiero, according to Plutarch 15; the last of whom, as we see, could not, however, escape the censure of Themistocles. The genius of the Greeks was turned entirely to democracies; wherefore it is no wonder, that in a Grecian assembly the name of tyrant should be heard with indignation; or that Themistocles should think a man, who had enslaved his country, criminal enough to be excluded those Games, in which liberty was so much countenanced, that no slave was admitted to contend in them. It looks, indeed, as if by slaves in this case no other could be meant than menial slaves, such as were bought and sold, the property of their masters, and the scorn of human kind: to degrade a tyrant to a level with such as these, and to deny him the privileges of a

<sup>15</sup> De his qui.

freeman, was a piece of retaliation worthy the justice of an Hellanodic, and the spirit of Themistocles the deliverer of Greece. It appears, however, that, notwithtsanding this popular objection to his character, Hiero was admitted to contend in the Olympic Games; in which he obtained two victories, one in the horse-races in the 73d Olympiad, upon which occasion Pindar wrote his first Olympic Ode 16, and the other in the chariot-races, in the 78th; soon after which he died. In the 75th Olympiad happened the expedition of Xerxes; from which terrible attack upon her liberties, Greece was rescued chiefly by the wisdom and valour of Themistocles 17. In the 76th Olympiad, the next after the battles of Artemisium and Salamis, Themistocles going to the Olympic Games, drew for a whole day together, says Plutarch, the attention of the spectators from the combatants upon himself; was gazed at by all the Greeks with veneration, and by them pointed out to strangers with loud expressions of their wonder and applause; insomuch that Themistocles himself acknowledged, he that day reaped the fruits of all the labours he had undergone for Greece. It was then, perhaps, that this assertor of the liberties of Greece 18, whose heart was not a little subject to vanity, the last infirmity of noble minds, (to use an expression of Milton) proud of his victories over one tyrant, thought fit to declare himself an enemy to all, by this opposition to Hiero; under which if Hiero did not sink, it was owing, in all likelihood, to the services that he

<sup>16</sup> See schol, ad prim, Olymp, Od.

<sup>17</sup> Plut, in Themistocle. 18 Ibid,

and his family <sup>19</sup> had lately done to Greece, in defeating the Carthaginians, who were leagued with Xerxes in the same cause: an action that Pindar seems to think not inferior to the victories of Salamis and Platea: if so, might there not have been a little tincture of envy and jealousy, as well as vanity, in this zeal of Themistocles against tyrants?

The candidates, having passed with honour through this public inquiry into their lives and characters, were led to the altar of Jupiter, surnamed Horcius 20, from his presiding over oaths. The statue of Jupiter Horcius was placed in the senate house of the Eleans, and was formed to strike terror into wicked men, says Pansanias, more than any other statues of that deity: for in this he was represented as armed with thunder in both hands, and, as if that was not a sufficient intimation of the wrath of Jupiter against those who should forswear themselves, at his feet there was a plate of brass, containing terrible denunciations against the perjured. Before this statue were all the candidates, together with their parents, their brethren, and the masters of the gynmasium, sworn upon the limbs of a boar, that was slain and cut up

<sup>19</sup> See the first Pythian Ode of Pindar.

<sup>20</sup> Paus, lib, v. c. 25. Horcins, derived from horces, an outh. The Romans seem to have translated the Greek worth Horcins by fidnus, to which johing the old word Dius, signifying Japiter, and the particle me's borrowed from the Greek ma, and used by them in other words, as mehretele, metastor, there have been great disputes among the learned. Though I cannot help thinking, they may all be ended by allowing medius fidnis to be no other than a translation of Δiα 25,00,0, as I have here suggested; but this confecting is submit to enterindements.

for that purpose, that they would not be guilty of any frand or indirect action, tending to a breach of the laws relating to the Olympic Games. The candidates moreover swore, that they had for ten months together duly performed all that was required of them, by way of preparing themselves to appear worthy of being admitted to contend for the Olympic crown.

I cannot help taking notice, with regard to this oath, that it appears to have been very religiously observed: since, as the Eleans informed Pausanias 21, the first instance of any indirect practices made use of by any of the candidates for obtaining the Olympic crown, was in the 98th Olympiad. almost four hundred years after the restitution of those Games by Iphitus; from which time to the 226th Olympiad, above five hundred years more. only five instances of the like iniquity are produced by the same author. The leader of this opprobrious band is one Eupolus, a Thessalian, who bribed at one time no less than three of his antagonists, to yield him the victory in the castus. The fraud and collusion was discovered, and the corrupter and corrupted punished equally by fines; with the money arising out of which were erected six statues of Jupiter: upon one of these was an inscription in verse, declaring that the Olympic crown was to be obtained by activity and strength, and not by bribery and corruption. Upon another it was set forth, that this statue was erected by the piety of the Eleans, to the honour of that deity, and to deter all men for the future from transgressing the

<sup>21</sup> Lib. v. c. 21.

laws of the Olympic Games. All the other offenders, whose crime was of the same nature, were punished in the same manner; and their infamy was in the same manner perpetuated by statues and inscriptions. The apprehensions of a like dishonour, and the dread, perhaps, of a divinity, who was represented as arming himself with double terrors for the punishment of the perjured, was undoubtedly the reason that this oath was so long and so generally kept by all who took it.

From the altar of Jupiter Horcius the candidates were conducted to the stadium by their parents, their countrymen, and the masters of the gymnasium <sup>22</sup>; some of whom failed not to encourage them to the combat in an exhortatory speech; for the composing of which Dionysius of Halicarnassus has laid down several precepts, as has been already

mentioned.

In the stadium they were left entirely to themselves, to stand or fall by their own merit; excepting that the hopes, and fears, and transports of their relations and friends, who could not help sympathizing with them in the several turns and accidents of the combat, were allowed to break out now and then into expressions either of exhortation or applause. And whoever lost the crown, had at least the consolation of having been thought worthy to contend for it. And indeed, considering the long and painful discipline they were obliged to undergo, and the qualifications required of them previously to their being received as candidates for the Olympic olive, we may very justly apply to

<sup>22</sup> Faber's Agon.

them what Achelous in Ovid says, to publishe the disgrace of his having been vanquished by Hercules:

Non tam .

Turpe fuit vinci quam contendisse decorum.

'The honour of having contended for the victory, abundantly outweighed the disgrace of losing it.'

In speaking of those, who were admitted to contend in the Olympic Games, I must not forget to mention, that boys were allowed to be of that number. This, it seems, was an innovation 23, there being no precedent for any such custom in the old Games before Iphitus; and was introduced by the mere authority of the Eleans, in the 37th Olympiad. Ranning and wrestling were at first the only two exercises in which boys were suffered to dispute the prize with each other; but in the forty-first Olympiad they were admitted to the combat of the cæstus, and in the hundred and fortyfifth to that of the pancratium; as they had been likewise to those of the pentathlon, in the 38th Olympiad, in which exercise, Eutelidas the Spartan obtained the crown. But the Eleans came to a resolution that very Olympiad, not to allow boys for the future to contend in the pentathlon; which probably was looked upon as too robust and too laborious for so tender an age. Paus. lib. v. c. 9. In the gymnastic exercises the boys, as was most reasonable, contended with each other in classes, distinct and separate from the men.

That they contended also in the horse-races, is evident from what Pausanias 24 says of Æsypus, the

<sup>23</sup> Paus. lib. v. c. 8.

son of Timon, of whom there was an equestrian statue at Olympia, in memory of his having, while yet a boy, obtained a victory in the race of ridinghorses.

I have already observed, that the competitors for the equestrian crowns were allowed to contend by proxy; to which I must add, that it was customary likewise for a man to hire or borrow a chariot and horses for that occasion; or, which amounted to the same thing, to prevail with a friend, who perhaps had more chariots or more horses than one to run at the same time, to enter his name as master of one of them; or to resign, perhaps, the honour of a victory in his favour, as was twice done by Cimon, the father of Miltiades, according to Herodotus 25. Under the favour, therefore, of some or other of these indulgences, which were peculiar to the equestrian exercises, a way was opened for boys also to obtain the equestrian crowns; even supposing they were not of age or strength sufficient to contend for them in person; or wealthy or independent enough to have a chariot or horses of their own.

I have mentioned age, which undoubtedly was a qualification necessary to be considered in these young candidates for glory; especially upon their admission to contend in any of the gymnastic combats. But I must acknowledge at the same time, that I have not as yet been able to discover, what age was requisite for their reception into the class of boys, nor at what age they were esteemed men, and consequently excluded from contending in that

<sup>25</sup> Erato, c. 103.

class. We read, indeed, in Pausanias 16, of one Damiscus, who obtained a victory in the foot-race at twelve years of age: and the French translator 27 of that author says, that boys were admitted from the age of twelve or thirteen years to that of seventeen years, to contend in the gymnastic combat: that under twelve years of age they were reckoned too young, and above seventeen too old; and consequently after that time they were ranked in the class of men. With the latter part of this opinion Faber seems also to agree; seventeen years being, as he says, the age at which they were reckoned able to bear arms.

This opinion is indeed highly probable; but as it is not supported by any authority out of ancient authors, I shall leave it upon the credit of those from whom I borrowed it; and observe, that children of the same age differ so greatly from each other, both in strength and size, that the Hellanodics seem, for that very reason, to have been left entirely at liberty to admit or to reject such as should, upon examination, appear to be either an under-match or an over-match for the rest of their antagonists. That this was the case may be inferred, as well from a passage of Plutarch, in the life of Agesilaus, which I shall produce presently, as from the oath taken before the statue of Jupiter Horcius, by such of the Hellanodics as were appointed to examine the boys who offered themselves as candidates for the Olympic olive 28; the tenor of which oath was, ' That they had, without

<sup>26</sup> Eliac. lib. ii. c. 2.

<sup>27</sup> See his note, Paus. Eliac. lib. ii. c. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Paus. lib. v. c. 24.

either present or reward, proceeded in that examination, and determined according to the strictest equity; and that they promised further, never to divulge the motives that had induced them to admit some and reject others.' From this oath, and particularly from the second clause of it, as well as from the practice of swearing the Hellanodics upon this occasion, it is evident they were to judge discretionally, and according to their consciences. not of the age only of those young candidates, which was a matter of fact easily and certainly to be known, by inquiring either of themselves or of their friends and relations, and countrymen, some of whom always accompanied them to Olympia, but of those other matters already mentioned, for which no certain rule or measure could be prescribed; and which, for that reason, must be submitted to the cognizance and determination of discretion and opinion only. These several particulars are further proved from the passage of Plutarch above-mentioned, wherein he relates, that the son of Pharnabazus, a Persian satrap, having contracted a friendship with Agesilaus, king of Sparta, applied to him one day in behalf of an Athenian boy 29, of whom he was very fond, and who having qualified himself for the stadium, or simple footrace, intended to offer himself as a candidate for the Olympic crown in the class of boys; but as he was very robust and tall, there was great danger of his being rejected upon that account. But Agesi-

<sup>29 —</sup> πράσθη άθληθε ωπείδος έξ' Αθηνών, ἐπεί δὲ μέγας ων καὶ σκληδός δλυμπιλονι ἐπείδνευστε ἐπειδηπαι, &c. See also the 4th Book of Xenophon's Greek History, where this story is related. And from thence, I suppose, Platarch took it.

laus, willing to gratify the young Persian in this particular, made use of all his interest with the Hellanodics; and, after a great deal of difficulty, obtained his desire.

I cannot finish this account of the candidates without taking proper notice of the ladies, who were not ashamed to be reckoned in that number. It was a great while, indeed, before they thought of rivalling the men in their pretensions to a crown, for which, by a kind of Salic law, their sex seemed to be entirely excluded; for they were not so much as allowed to be spectators of these contests for glory: and no less a punishment 30 than that of being cast headlong down the precipices of Mount Typæus, was threatened to be inflicted upon every woman that was discovered assisting at the Olympic Games, or even known to have passed over the river Alpheus during that solemnity. Pausanias, who helps us to this particular, informs us at the same time, that no woman was ever taken offending against this law, excepting one named Callipateira 31, or Pherenice, whose husband being dead, she disguised herself in the habit of a master of the gymnasium, in order to attend upon her son Pisidorus, whom under that character she conducted into the Olympic stadium. But Pisidorus coming off with conquest, the mother, who could not con-

<sup>80</sup> Pans. lib. v. c. 6.

<sup>3)</sup> This matron was so famous as to have bad several names: see Kuhnius's note upon this passage of Paus, and the Scholium poor the title of the 7th Olymp. Ode of Pindar, where she is called Aristopateira, and the story of her differently told. She was the daughter of Diagoras, the famous athlete, to whom that Ode is inscribed.

tain her transport at the victory of her son, was by some accident discovered, and thereby rendered liable to the dreadful penalty above mentioned. The Hellanodics, however, out of respect to her father, her brothers, and her son, all of whom had been honoured with the Olympic crown, exempted her from punishment; but ordered, that all the masters of the gymnasium, who assisted at those Games, should, for the future, appear naked; as were all the gymnastic candidates; which was without doubt the true reason of this law's being at first made, as well as one of the principal canses of its having been ever religiously observed. And yet we find in the same Pausanias 32, that the priestess of Ceres, and even virgins, (those undoubtedly belonging to that goddess, and those only) were allowed to be spectators of these Games; and were seated for that purpose upon an altar of white marble, that was erected on one side of the studium, opposite to the seat of the Hellanodics. I must own, with Mons. Rollin 33, that I cannot account for so extraordinary a proceeding; but I can by no means, like him, call the truth of this fact in question; which is related in very express terms by Pausanias, and with circumstances that corroborate his evidence: and is further confirmed by the testimony of Suetonins, in the life of Nero 34; who says, that emperor invited the vestal virgins to see the combats of the athletes, because at Olympia the like privilege was allowed to the priestesses of Ceres. All we can say of this matter is, that it

<sup>32</sup> Eliac, ii, c. 20, Fab, Agon, lib. i. c. 9.

<sup>#3</sup> Hist, Anc. vol. v. p. 51. 34 In Nero, c. xii,

appears 35 to have been an honour granted, among many others, to the priestesses of this goddess in particular; whose temple 36 was adjoining to the stadium 37, and from some circumstances of whose worship 38, which was very full of symbols, and mysteries, and secrets, that no one was permitted to divulge, this custom was in all probability derived: so much at least seems to be intimated by the altar of white marble, upon which these priestesses and virgins were seated, of whose sanctity and purity it seems at the same time to have been no improper emblem.

To recompense the women for their being excluded from the Olympic Games 39, they also celebrated a festival of their own, instituted, as it is said, in honour of Olympian Juno, by Hippodamia, the wife of Pelops. In this festival the virgins, distributed into three classes, according to their different ages, contended in the foot-race: from which agreeable spectacle, I am willing to hope, for the sake of both sexes, that the men were not excluded; neither could the same reason be pretended in the present case, as in the former. These female racers were dressed, and (if one may be allowed to give one's opinion upon a matter every

<sup>35</sup> Paus, ubi. sup. 36 Paus, lib. 5. c. 21.

<sup>37</sup> May not another reason for this extraordinary privilege of paramet to the priestess of Ceres be drawn from the sibation of her temple, which overlooked the stadtum; and from which, perhaps, it was not lawful for the priestess to depart? and may we not suppose that this privilege, though granted out of a religious veneration to the goddess, was never made use of by the pricetes, or the virgins belonging to her?

<sup>38</sup> See Spanheim and the other commentators on Callim, Hymn to Ceres. 39 Paus, lib, v. c. 15.

way so remote from these modern times, they were dressed in a very becoming habit; for their hair, according to Pausanias, was loose and flowing, their mantle let down a little below the knee, and their right-shoulder naked as low as to the breast, The races were performed in the Olympic stadium : but, out of regard to the debility of the tender racers, the course was shortened about a sixth part. The conqueress received for her reward an olive crown, and a certain portion of the heifer that was upon this occasion sacrificed to Juno. But the most agreeable part of their recompense. was the liberty granted to the victorious virgin of having her picture drawn, and hung up in the temple as a memorial, at the same time, both of her beauty and her glory. And I question not but they were as careful to have the painter ready upon these occasions, as the conquerors of the other sex were to have their statuaries and poets.

What pity is it, that instead of a picture of one of these fair conqueresses, nothing should now remain to us but the name of her who obtained the first victory! This was Chloris, the youngest daughter of Amphion, a lady whose beauty is cele-

brated by Homer 40.

The direction "of this festival, and the office of presiding at these Games, was lodged in sixteen matrons, elected for that purpose, two out of each of the eight tribes of the Eleans. These sixteen matrons, who had also a like number of women to assist them in ordering the Games, composed two choirs, one named the chorus of Physcoa, and the

<sup>40</sup> Odyss. A. ver. 280.

<sup>41.</sup> Pans. lib. v. c. 15.

other of Hippodamia; but whether they employed their voices in singing the praises of the goddesa, or of the victorious virgius, or both, is not said; though a less important part of their office is mentioned, namely, the care of weaving a veil, which was spread over the image of Juno upon her festival.

But to return from this short digression: notwithstanding the women, by the institution of these Games consecrated to Juno, seem to have been set upon a pretty equal footing with the men, yet the vanity of the latter, in over-valuing themselves upon their victories, brought the women into their lists. And very fortunate was it for the men, that these dangerous rivals were, by the above-mentioned law, excluded from contending in person; and necessitated of course to limit their ambition to the obtaining the equestrian crowns only; for which alone it was allowable to contend by proxy. The law by which women were forbidden to be present at the Olympic Games, and the liberty granted the equestrian candidates, which I have just now mentioned, have already been so clearly and so fully stated, that I need not enter into the question, whether Cynisca, and the other ladies of Macedonia, who afterwards followed her example. were present at the Olympic Games, any further, than to say that Faber 42 is of opinion, that Cynisca was in person at Olympia, though neither she nor any of the female candidates drove their own chariots; which opinion he grounds upon the words of Platarch 43, which indeed seem to imply as much.

<sup>42</sup> Agon. lib, i. c. 26,

<sup>42</sup> See Plut. in Agesi, et Lacon, Apoph. et Zeno, in Agesi.

But if the words of Plutarch are to be taken strictly according to the letter, they imply, that Cynisca was not only present at the Olympic Games, but that she drove her own chariot; which is contrary to what Faber himself allows, and to the testimony of her own monument of this victory 44: which consisted of the statues of her four horses in brass. a little less than the life, her chariot and her charioteer, and her own picture drawn by Apelles, sides, as her being present was not at all necessary. there was no occasion for the Hellanodics to dispense in her favour with the observation of a law, which in all other cases was to be obeyed under the penalty of death. She had reason to be contented, one would think, with being admitted to contend for a crown; the value of which she had been most maliciously prevailed upon to bring into discredit, by showing from her own example, that the women might as well pretend to that honour as the men. Such at least was the intention of her brother Agesilaus, who persuaded her for that reason to make the experiment. But he seems to have been disappointed in the event. The Olympic crown kept up its value; and instead of being depreciated by the competition of a woman, gave such a lustre to Cynisca, that the several arts of poetry, painting, architecture, and statuary, were all employed by herself or her countrymen, to deliver down to posterity the memory of her glory.

<sup>44</sup> Pans. lib. vi. c. 1. et lib. v. c. 12.

## SECTION XVI.

OF THE OLYMPIC CROWN, AND OTHER HONOURS AND REWARDS CONFERRED UPON THE CON-OUERORS.

The first reward bestowed upon the conquerors, and the pledge of many consequent honours, privileges, and immunities, (all which I purpose to treat of in this section) was a chaplet or crown, composed of the branches of a wild olive.

To enhance the value of these olive chaplets, and render them in some degree worthy of those Games, which, by way of eminence, were styled Holy, the Eleans pretended that the tree, from whence they were always taken, was originally brought to Olympia by Hercules', from the country of the Hyperboreans; a people, whose situation no geographer, either ancient or modern, has yet been able to determine. Pindar gives the honour of this exploit to Hercules, the son of Alemena, though, as we learn from Pausanias, it was by others ascribed to the Idaean Hercules, who was earlier by some generations.

But as there were many plants of the same kind growing in the altis of Olympian Jupiter, several of which might equally pretend to the same venerable original, to obviate all doubts and scruples relating to the sacred olive, that might arise either from the above consideration, or from the long in-

<sup>1</sup> Pindar's Olymp. Ode 3. See the note there.

terral which had passed between the time inwhich these heroes flourished, and that in which
lphitus re-instituted the Olympic Games; the
Eleans further pretended, that it was indicated to
them by the Delphic oracle. This account, though
not taken notice of by Pausanias, or any other
author, as I remember, is preserved to us in afragment of Phlegon, and is as follows: 'During
the first five Olympiads [after the restitution of
those Games by Iphitus] no one,' says he, 'wascrowned; but in the sixth, the people of Elis
came to a resolution to consult the oracle about
giving crowns to the conquerors. For this purpose they sent Iphitus, their king, to Delphi, to
whom the god gave this answer:

To the swift victor be no more assign'd The bleating offspring of the freecy kind; But from the olive, which spontaneous grows In Pisa's vale, a verdant crown compose; That olive, round whose venerable head ther subtle textures hath Arachne spread.

Iphitus, upon his return to Olympia, having discovered, among the many wild olives that grew in the sacred grove, one which was covered with cobwebs, enclosed it with a wall; and from this tree was a chaplet or crown taken and given to the conquerors. The first who was crowned was Daicles, of Messene, who, in the seventh Olympiad, gained the victory in the stadium, or simple foot-race.

From this account we also learn, that the prize originally bestowed upon the Olympic conquerors

was a lamb. And some learned moderns have imagined, that in some periods of these Games, the crowns given to the victors were of gold. But, as I think they have mistaken the passages upon which they found their opinion, I shall pass it over with this observation only; that, considering the number of exercises, of which in process of time the Olympic Games consisted, in each of which the victor was entitled to a prize, the honour of presiding at the Olympic Games must have been very expensive to the Eleans in that article alone, had these prizes been of any considerable value. And it is probable that the Eleans, foreseeing this, might, out of good economy, be desirous of changing the original prize, a lamb, though of no great value, for the cheaper one of a crown, composed of the branches of a wild olive: to sanctify which alteration, and give a lustre to their olive chaplet, they had recourse to fables, and the authority of the Delphic oracle.

With the same view they not only surrounded this sacred olive with a wall, and distinguished it by the name of Callistephanos, i. e. the tree of the crowns of glory; but put it also under the protection of certain nymphs 2, or inferior detites; whom from their office they likewise surnamed Callistephani; and to whom they erected an altar near that consecrated plant.

To excite the emulation of the competitors, by placing in their view the object of their ambition, these crowns were laid upon a tripod or table,

<sup>2</sup> Pans, lib. v.

which, during the Games, was brought out and placed in the middle of the stadium, or of the hippodrome 3, according as the respective exercises required. In the interval of the Games 4 they were kept, the former in the temple of Jupiter, the latter in the temple of Juno, at Olympia. The tripod was of brass, and seems to have been entirely laid aside after the table was made, which was composed of gold and ivery, the workmanship of Colotes of Paros, a disciple of Pasiteles.

Upon the same table were also exposed to view, branches of palm, which the conquerors received at the same time with the crowns, and carried in their hands, as emblems <sup>5</sup> (says Plutarch) of the unsuppressive vigour of their minds and bodies, evidenced in their getting the better of their antagonists; and surmounting all opposition, like those plants, whose property it was, according to the opinion of the ancients, to rise and flourish under the greatest weights, and against all endeavours to bend or keep them down.

Though the conquerors were immediately upon their gaining the victory entitled to the chaplet and the palm, yet Faber <sup>6</sup> conjectures, from a passage of Chrysostome, that they who contended in the morning exercises, did not receive their crowns

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> It is probable, that in the bases relieve representing the old hippodrome at Constantinople (a print of which is inserted in Wheeler's Travels, p. 183,) the four pillars supporting a kind of frame, were only the legs of a table serving the use above mentioned. Which Mr. Wheeler not considering, says, he could not conjecture what it was for, unless only for ornament.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Paus. lib. v. <sup>5</sup> Symp. lib. viii. Quæst. 4. <sup>6</sup> Agon. lib. i. c. 30.

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till noon; at which time it may also be inferred from the sane passage, that the spectators, as well as the candidates, were dismissed, in order to take some refreshment before the afternoon exercises came on; the conquerors in which were in like manner obliged to wait for their reward till the evening. And indeed, as every part of these Games was conducted with the utmost order and decency, it is not natural to suppose that the course of the exercises was interrupted, by giving the crown to every single conqueror as soon as he had obtained his victory, especially as that solemnity was attended with a great deal of ceremony.

It was performed (as far as I have been able to collect from several passages scattered up and down in ancient authors) in the following manuer: The conquerors, being summoned by proclamation. marched in order to the tribunal of the Hellanodics 7, where a herald, taking the crowns of olive from the table 8, placed one upon the head of each of the conquerors; and giving into their hands branches of palm, led them in that equipage along the stadium, preceded by trumpets, proclaiming at the same time with a loud voice their names, the names of their fathers, and their countries; and specifying the particular exercise in which each of them had gained the victory. The form made use of in that proclamation seems to have been conceived in these or such-like terms; viz. ' Diagoras. the son of Damagetus, of Rhodes, conqueror in the castus in the class of men; and so of the rest,

<sup>7</sup> Ælian. lib. ix. c. 51.

<sup>8</sup> Cic. Epist, ad Luc. Plut. de se ipso laud.

whether men or boys, mutatis mutandis. That in which the victories of Nero were published, is recorded by Dio Cassius 9, for the singularity, I suppose, of the style, as well as the eminency of the conqueror, and the quality of the herald, whose name (as the same author informs us) was Cluvius Rufus, a man of consular dignity. Take it, together with the short but sarcastical reflection of the historian upon it, in the very words, as near as I could translate them into English 10: 'Nero Casar is victorious in this Game, and imparts the honour of this chaplet to the Roman people, and to all the inhabitants of the world, his subjects.' He styled himself (says Dio Cassins) Lord of the World, and vet turned harper, crier, and tragedian. To illustrate this wonderful piece of history, I shall observe, that this vain but mean lord of the universe, besides his victory in the chariot-race at Olympia (which I have already mentioned) obtained many others in the several Games of Greece 11, (in all which he contended) as a musician, a crier, and a tragedian; to which he sometimes added the further indecency of proclaiming, in the quality of a crier, his own victories 12: and to fit himself for this honourable employment, he every where contended publicly with the criers or heralds, who. without doubt, were very careful not to outbawl the master of twenty legions.

Although the Olympic crowns were all composed of the branches of the sacred olive, yet, I

<sup>9</sup> In Nerone.

<sup>10</sup> Νέρων Καισαρ γικα τυτε του αγο Ρωμαίων δάμων και την ίδιαν οικομείνη. 12 Suet. in Nero. 10 Νέρων Καϊσαρ νικά τόνδι τον άγωνα, και ς εφανοί τόν] ε των

imagine, they were distinguished from each other, either by the difference of their form, or the addition of some emblematic ornament peculiar to the several exercises. The racer's crown was different from the wrestler's, and so all the rest. This I acknowledge to be a mere conjecture of my own: founded indeed upon no positive authority of any writer, either ancient or modern; but countenanced, as I think, by a passage of Plutarch 13, where, speaking of the different talents and fortunes of mankind, he advises us to be contented with our own, and not envy those of other men; like the racers, continues he, who are not dissatisfied at not obtaining the wrestlers' crowns, but triumph, and are happy in their own. These words, I confess, will bear a more general sense, and may mean no more than that the racers do not envy the wrestlers their victory. And yet I am persuaded, that, had there been no mark, by which these crowns were distinguished from each other, he would have expressed himself otherwise. For to say, in general, that the racers did not envy the wrestlers the Olympic crown, would not be strictly true, any more than to say here in England, that an admiral does not envy a general the garter, or a peerage, because those honours are indifferently bestowed upon both; and may, therefore, be the object of the ambition of either. But among the Romans it might, with great propriety and truth, be said, that a man, who had distinguished himself in a sea engagement, and obtained a crown as a reward for his valour, did not envy

<sup>13</sup> De Trang, Animi.

his fellow-citizen the crown which he had gained at a siege: because those crowns were known to be different, and appropriated to distinct services. However, I shall submit this, with many other things of the like uncertain nature, to the more judicious reader. As to the emblematic ornaments, which I mentioned above, I can produce but little better authority in support of this part of my conjecture, than of the former. Plutarch. in his discourse upon the face in the moon, speaking of the souls, which, after the first death here upon earth, and the purgatory which they undergo for some time in the regions between the earth and that planet, are translated to the moon, says, that as a mark of their constancy, they, like the corquerors, wear chaplets of (ω/ερων) plumes or wings: and Pindar, in his 14th Olymp. Ode, to denote the victory of Asopichus in the foot-race, says, he crowned his head with the wings ( w/100101) or plumes of the famous Games. The same word, and used in the same sense, occurs again in the 9th Pythian Ode. The scholiast, and all the interpreters agree, that by these words, Pindar means the Olympic and Pythic crowns; which, say they, he calls wings, because they elevate and exait, But I can by no means approve of this solution, and think the expression too bold to be justified. even in that kind of poetry called Dithyrambic, which, by all we know of it, seems to have been the production of such great wits, as, according to Dryden, are near allied to madness. Would an English poet be allowed to say, that a man received the order of the wing, to signify that he was made knight of the garter? And yet it might be justified in him as well as in Pindar, by the same kind of reasoning. For my part, I cannot help concluding, from these two passages, compared with that of Plutarch, that either the conquerors in general, (for the words in Plutarch are general) besides the chaplet peculiar to the Games, received another composed of wings or plumes ; or, that the racers' chaplet in particular was adorned with plumes or wings, the proper and known emblems of swiftness. In support of which conjecture, I desire it may be observed, that the odes, in which Pindar uses this expression, are both of them inscribed to conquerors in the footrace. Plutarch, in the passage above cited, speaks of wings as the symbols of constancy. I shall not inquire into the reason or propriety of this symbol, but observe, that a chaplet of wings, considered as the symbols of constancy, belonged equally (and were probably given) to all the conquerors, as the words of Plutarch seem to imply.

That different degrees of merit were rewarded with different degrees of honour, and consequently with different crowns, I infer from these words of St. Basil <sup>14</sup>: 'No president of the Gaues (says he) is so devoid of judgment, as to think a mau, who, for want of an adversary, hath not contended, deserves the same crown  $(\tau_{\sigma w}, \tau_{\tau}, \psi_{\sigma w})$  as one who hath contended and overcome.' That he who, for want of an antagonist, was proclaimed conqueror, did receive a crown, is evident from the epigram upon Milo, (which I have produced at the end of a former section) and many passages in

<sup>14</sup> Apud Fab. Agon. lib. iii. cap. 1.

Pausanias; and that the crown, which in that case he was entitled to, was different from that which he would have received had he contended and vanquished, may, I think, be fairly concluded from the words of St. Basil, above cited. Alcibiades 15, who sent seven chariots at one time to the Olympic Games, gained the first, second, and fourth prizes, which were so many crowns of olive 16; and these crowns, in all probability, differed from each other, as they were the rewards of different degrees of merit. To this let me add, that the charioteers, and even the horses, were rewarded with crowns, which can hardly be supposed to have been the same with those bestowed upon their masters, though no notice is taken by any ancient author. of any difference or distinction in these several crowns.

Though the olive chaplet seems to have been the only reward which the Hellanodics conferred upon the conquerors, yet were there many others no less glorious and no less pleasing recompenses attending their victories, as well from the spectators in general, as from their own countrymen, friends, and relatious in particular; some of which they received even before they were put in possession of the crown. Such were the acclamations and applauses of that numerous assembly; the

<sup>15</sup> Plut, in Alcib. Thucyd. Iso. in Bigis.

<sup>16</sup> This will appear to any one who shall compare the fragment of the ode which Euripides composed upon this occasion, with whan Platarch, and Thacydides, and Eocrates, and Euripides himself, in the same place, say of the three victories of Alciblades; by which also it is plain, that instead of  $\mathcal{C}_{ij}^{*} \in \mathcal{I}_{ij}^{*} \mathcal{A}_{ij}^{*}$  at should be  $\tau oi_{ij}^{*} \sim 10^{-10}$  and  $\tau oi_{ij}^{*} = 10^{-10}$  and  $\tau oi_{ij}^{*}$ 

warm congratulations of their friends, and even the faint and extorted salutations of their maligners and opponents. These broke out immediately upon their victory, and were as lenients to their wounds, and cordials to their toils; and enabled them to support with patience the further toil of waiting, perhaps many hours, for the crown; which was no inconsiderable matter after a hard-fought battle, or long-contested victory, especially if they were to stand all that time in the stadium, naked and exposed, in that hottest season of the year, to the rays of the sun; and that in a place, where the heat was so violent, that slaves were sometimes, by way of punishment, condemned to suffer it for a whole summer's day together.

As they passed along the stadium, after they had received the crown, they were again saluted with the acclamations of the spectators, accompanied with a shower of herbs and flowers, poured on them from every side; as may be collected from what Pausanias relates '1' of Diagoras the Rhodian, to whom Pindar 18 inscribes his several victories in almost all the Games of Greece. This venerable conqueror is said to have accompanied his two sons, Acusilaus and Damagetus, to the Olympic Games; in which the young men coming off victorious, Acusilaus in the castus, and Damagetus in the pancratium, took their father on their shoulders, and carried him as it were in triumph along the stadium, amid the shouts and acclamations of the specta-

<sup>27</sup> Lib. vi.

<sup>18</sup> See the Scholiast on the 4th Pyth. Ode of Pindar, ver. 426.

tors; who poured flowers on him as he passed, and hailed him happy in being the father of such sons 19.

It was further customary, for the friends of the conquerors to express their particular respect to them, by going up to them, accosting them, and presenting them with chaplets of herbs, &c. binding their heads with fillets, ribbons <sup>20</sup>, &c.

The last duty performed by the conquerors at Olympia, was sacrificing <sup>11</sup> to the twelve gods, who were worshipped, two at one altar, as I have already observed, and sometimes to Olympic Jupiter in particular. These sacrifices, some of them performed with so much magnificence as to entertain the whole multitude which were gathered together at that solemnity; as did Alcibades <sup>22</sup>, Leophron, and Empedocles <sup>23</sup>. But this last being a Pythagorean, and for that reason abstaining from all animal food, distributed to the assembly an ox, composed of honey, flour, frankincense, myrth, and other spices of great value.

Others, who had less ability, or perhaps less vanity, were contented to feast only their own friends, or probably were sometimes feasted by them; and perhaps, by the Eleans themselves, the superintendants of the Olympic Games. For so much seems to be intimated by Pansanias, who

<sup>19</sup> There are some additions to this story, which I shall take notice of in another place.

<sup>20</sup> See Thucyd. lib. iv. sub fin. where are these words: loia δὶ, ἐτανίων τι, καὶ ωςοσίεχοιο ὥσπιο ἀθληὶη; the story of Lichas quoted in a former section; and the last-mentioned pasage of Pindar,

<sup>21</sup> Pind. Olymp. Ode 5. and the Scholiast.

Athen, Deip. lib. i. 13 Ibid, et Laert. in his Life.

says, that in the prytaneum, or town-hall of Olympia, there was a banquetting-room set apart for the entertaining the Olympic conquerors. these entertainments, whether public or private, were frequently sung by a chorus, accompanied with instrumental music, such odes as were composed upon that occasion, in honour of the conqueror. But it was not the good fortune of every conqueror to have a poet for his friend; or to be able to pay the price of an ode, which the poets rated very high, according to the following story related by the scholiast of Pindar 24. The friends of one Pytheas, a conqueror in the Nemean Games, came to Pindar, and desired him to make an ode upon the occasion; but the poet demanding a large sum 25 of money for his performance. they replied, 'it was better to have a statue of brass erected for that money, than a copy of verses,' and went their ways. But some time after, having changed their opinions, they returned to Pindar, and paid him his price: who, in allusion to the above-mentioned transaction, begins his ode with setting forth, that he was no statuary. no maker of images that could not stir from their pedestals, and consequently were to be seen only by those who would give themselves the trouble to go to the place where they were erected; but he could make a poem, which should fly over the whole earth, and publish in every place that Pytheas had gained the crown in the Nemean Games. &c. Pindar, as was natural, gives the preference

<sup>24</sup> Nem, Ode 5.

<sup>25</sup> See hereafter the Note on the second Isthmian Ode of Pindar.

to his own art, poetry; so did the friends of Pytheas: and Pindar's works are now, after two thousand years, remaining still, to prove that they were neither of them mistaken.

Those conquerors, who could not attain to the honour of an ode on their particular victory, were obliged to take up with one made by Archilochus, in praise of Hercules, which, as we learn from Pindar 26 and his scholiast, it was customary to sing three several times to the conquerors, viz, in the stadium, as I suppose, at the time of his being proclaimed conqueror; in the gumnasium, and in his own country, at the solemnity of his triumphal entry there. Of this ode nothing has come down to us but the two first verses, preserved by the scholiast of Pindar: the three first words of which, viz. 'Ω Καλλίνικε, χαίρε, 'O glorious victor, hail! seem, by the account which the scholiast gives of this ode, to have been the only ones applicable to the Olympic conquerors, (the rest belonging to Hercules) and were sometimes, perhaps, the only ones made use of; especially when the chorus consisted of none but the friends of the conqueror: which, as many of these conquerors were not rich enough to hire a band of singers and musicians, must have often been the case. To supply the want of a musician, Archilochus framed a word in imitation of the sound of a harp, which word (Tenella, Τηνέλλα) when there happened to be no musician present, the leader of the chorus chanted forth, and was answered by the rest of the chorus in the words of the ode, 'Ω Καλλίνικε,

<sup>26</sup> Olymp. Ode 9.

O glorious victor,' &c. at every comma, or pause, of which this burden was again repeated, as Pindar's scholiast informs us, from whom I have taken this whole account.

To perpetuate the glory of these victories, the Hellanodics entered into a public register the names of the conquerors; specifying, without doubt, the particular exercise and class, whether of men or boys, in which each lad been victorious, together with the number of the Olympiad. I have already taken notice, in another place, of the glorious distinction paid to the conquerors in the stadium, by marking the Olympiad with their names, and therefore shall say nothing of it here, but shall proceed to the last, though not the least, bonour granted by the Hellanodics to the conquerors; and this was the privilege of having their statues set up in the altis, or sacred grove of Jupiter at Olympia.

Though the conquerors themselves, their friends, and sometimes their country <sup>27</sup>, were at the expense of these statues, yet were they restrained by the Olympic laws from indulging that too common vanity of misrepresenting the size and stature of their bodies <sup>24</sup>, and obliged to make their statues no bigger than the life: in examining of which (says Lucian) the Hellanodics were more exact than in examining the candidates themselves. And if they found any in this particular offending against the truth, they punished them very properly with throwing down their statues.

Cornelius Nepos, in his life of Chabrias, says,

<sup>27</sup> Pans, lib. vi. 28 Lucian. Imag.

that in imitation of that general, who had caused his statue to be made in a peculiar attitude, expressing a particular position of the body, by the invention and use of which he and his army had obtained a considerable victory, it became customary with the conquerors in the Games, &c. to represent in their statues the attitudes, habits, &c. in which they had gained the crown.

Thus, for instance, the statue of Damaretus <sup>2</sup>), who was the first that obtained the victory in the race of armed men, is described by Pausanias with a shield, a helmet, and buskins, the proper equipage of those who contended in that exercise: and that of Ladas (an eminent racer) made by Myron, as eminent a statuary, was formed in the very action of running; and seems, according to the account given of it in a very beautiful Greek epigram <sup>3</sup>? to have expressed not the attitude of the body only, but that of the mind also, (if I may so speak) the hopes, the expectation, the assurance of the victory, in so lively a manner, that it is going this moment, cries the poet, to leap from its pedestal, and seize the crown.

But the conquerors were not contented to consecrate themselves only in this manner to Fame and Jupiter; they sometimes set up the statues of their charioteers, and even of their horses, as may be seen in Pausanias 31; and sometimes they dedicated the very chariots themselves in which they had gained the victory: an instance of which I have quoted in a former section, from Pindar's fifth Pyth. Ode,

<sup>29</sup> Pans. lib. vi. 30 Anthol. lib. iv, 31 Lib. vi.

It is plain, however, from a passage in Philostratus, cited by Fab. Agon. (lib. iii. c. 12.) that this privilege of a statue was not granted to those conquerors, who were of mean occupations, or had exercised any handicraft trade.

In the sixth book of Pansanias may be seen a large list of statues erected in the altis of Olympian Jupiter, in honour of those conquerors, who had distinguished themselves, either by the number or the singularity of the victories. A list, though too large to be inserted, yet proper to be mentioned in this dissertation, as tending not only to confirm what has been said relating to the statues of the Olympic conquerors, but also to give the reader an idea of the magnificence of Olympia; where, besides the numerous temples, altars, and images of gods, there was to be seen, even in the times of Pausanias, an almost incredible quantity of statues of men, boys, horses, &c. many of them made by those great artists, whom no one since hath ever pretended to excel.

We must now take our leave of Olympia, and pass with the conquerors to their several countries, where we shall find still more honours, more advantageous privileges, and more substantial rewards, conferred upon them.

The public honours paid to them upon their returning into their own countries were very extraordinary; and such as not only equalled the glory, but resembled also the pomp of a Roman triumph, which I doubt not indeed was originally derived from the splendid entries of these sacred conquerors into their own cities. In the account <sup>32</sup> which Xiphiline, the abridger of Dio Cassius, hath written of the triumphal entry of Nero into Rome, after his victories in Greece, are contained most of the particulars of this ceremony. I shall, therefore, give a translation of the whole passage, adding to it such further circumstances as 1 find mentioned in other authors.

When, therefore, he (Nero) made his public entry into Rome, part of the walls was thrown down, and a large breach was made in the gates, upon an information given him by some people, that it was customary to have both those things done for such who had obtained the crown in the sacred Games. The march was begun by those who carried the several crowns which the emperor had gained. These were followed by others, who bore upon the tops of spears little tablets, wherein were specified the Games, the particular contest, against what antagonists, by what pieces of music, and in what plays 33, he had come off victorions: to each of which was added, that Nero Cæsar was the first Roman, from the beginning of the world, who had been proclaimed victor in this contest. Afterwards came the emperor himself, in triumphal chariot (the very same which Augustus had made use of in his triumphs for the many glorious victories he had gained) in a robe of purple 34, embroidered with stars of gold, crowned with the Olympic olive, and holding the Pythian lanrel in his hand, and with him rode the harper

<sup>59</sup> Dio, Cass, in Nero, 55 Suct. in Nero. 51 Ibid.

Diodorus. In this manner, attended by the soldiers, the Roman knights, and the senate, he proceeded through the Circus 35, (an arch of which he had caused to be demolished) and the Forum up to the Capitol; and from thence to the palace 36, and the temple of Apollo: the whole city in the meantime lighting up lamps or torches, wearing crowns and ribbons, and burning incense 37; while all the multitude, and the senators in particular, cried out, "Oua 38, Olympic conqueror! Oua, Pythian conqueror! Augustus! Augustus! to Nero Hercules! to Nero Apollo! how singular 39 in thy glory! the only one who hath passed through the whole circle of Games, and come off victorious in them all! the only one from the beginning of the world! Augustus, Augustus! O voice divine 40! happy are they that hear thee!" In many places as he passed along there were victims slain: the streets were several times strewed with saffron 41; and birds, ribbons, and confections, were cast into them. After these things he appointed chariotraces in the Circus, whither he brought all the crowns that he had gained 42, and placed them

<sup>35</sup> Suet. in Nero.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> So it is in the original, a word of exclamation, importing, as it appears from this passage, the same as huzza in English.

<sup>59</sup> The word in the original is Περιοδογίκης, which cannot be rendered into English but by a periphrasis.

<sup>40</sup> Alluding to the victory he obtained in the musical and poetical contests in the Pythian Games.

<sup>41</sup> Suet. in Nero. Ingestæque Aves, Lemnisci et Bellaria.

<sup>49</sup> Dio Cass. in Nero.

round the Egyptian obelisk. These were in number one thousand eight hundred and eight.'

That it may not be imagined that the greatest part of the circumstances attending this magnificent procession were peculiar to Nero, as emperor of the world, I shall make it appear, from several instances, that Nero was in all probability governed, as to the ceremenial of this triumphal entry, by what was done on the like occasions by his brother conquerors of Greece. He surpassed them undoubtedly in splendour and magnificence. He had the wealth of the Roman empire, the triumphal chariot of Augustus, the pretorian bands, the knights and senators of Rome, for his attendants; and the metropolis of all the world for the theatre of his pomp.

That it was customary for the sacred conquerors to make their entry through a breach in the walls, is evident not only from the above cited passage of Dio Cass. but from another in the Symposiacs of Plutarch <sup>13</sup>, where a reason is assigned for that custom, viz. 'That a city which is inhabited by men, who are able to fight and conquer, hath little occasion for walls.'

Vitruvius informs us 44, that the conquerors in the sacred Games, viz. the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean, were accustomed to make their entries in chariots drawn by four horses; and Diodorus Sic. 45, speaking of Exænetus of Agrigentum, who, in the 92d Olympiad, came off victorious in the Olympic Games, says, he entered Agrigentum in a chariot drawn by four horses, at-

<sup>45</sup> See also Suet. in Nero. 44 Lib. ix. init. 45 Lib. xiii.

tended by a great multitude of his fellow-citizens; among whom were three hundred, mounted in so many chariots, drawn each by a pair of white horses.

That the Olympic conquerors were embroidered garments, may be collected from a passage in Lucian 46; though it is not so clear what colour the ground of those garments was of. Faber 47 thinks they were at first of one colour, either white or purple, and that they were not worked or embroidered till about the time of Lucian. But as Nero, in the cavalcade above described, seems to have been governed in every particular by the practice of the Greeks on the like occasion, and as we find him dressed in a purple or scarlet robe, embroidered with stars of gold, we may very fairly conclude, that a purple or scarlet robe embroidered, though perhaps not in the same pattern, nor with so rich materials, was the triumphal habit of an Olympic conqueror, before the times of Lucian.

Though the degree of servility and adulation, to which the Romans were at this time arrived, may be supposed to have carried them to some excess in the honours paid by the whole city of Rome to Nero at his triumphal entry; such as burning incrase, slaying victims, strewing the streets with saffron, &c. as he passed along; honours which might well be thought due to him, whom the senators in their acclamations dignified, and as it were defined, by the titles of Hercules and Apollo; and of which I cannot find any instances among the

<sup>46</sup> in Vita Demonac.

Greeks: yet the custom of carrying lighted lamps, or torches, before the sacred conquerors, is mentioned by Chrysostome 48; and that of the whole city's wearing crowns and ribbons, is shown by Paschalius 49 to have obtained universally, among the Greeks in particular, upon all occasions of public festivity, among which are to be reckoned these triumphal entries of the sacred conquerors. In the same author likewise we may learn, that it was usual to cast upon the conqueror, as he passed along, herbs, leaves, flowers, chaplets, and ribbons or fillets (raniar); which two last, riz, chaplets and ribbons, were sometimes presented to them on these occasions by their private and particular friends.

We have seen above, that Nero's cavalcade proceeded first to the Capitol, and then to the temple of Apollo; where, doubtless, he offered sacrifices to Jupiter, the patron of the Olympic, and to Apollo, the patron of the Pythian Games. And this, I think, is highly probable, (though I cannot at present support my opinion by any positive authorities) that he imitated the sacred conquerors of Greece; whose triumphal cavalcades I cannot help considering as religious processions, ending with sacrifices of thanksgiving, either to the tutelary deity of the place, or to the patron of those Games, in which they had gained the victory, and perhaps to both. If we look upon them in this light, and remember at the same time that the country of the

<sup>48</sup> Apad. Fab. Agon, lib. ii. c. 10.

<sup>49</sup> De Corona, lib. ii. c. 11. lib. vi. c. 22.

conqueror shared with him in the glory accruing from his victory, we shall be less surprised at finding these triumphs accompanied with so much solemnity and pomp. They were indeed public festivals, in which the whole state was concerned; though, I suppose, the magnificence with which they were celebrated, bore always some proportion to the wealth and dignity of the conquerors themselves, or of their friends, or to that degree of estimation in which they stood with their fellow-citizens. To one or other of these at least they were indebted for those odes which were written purposely for them, set to music, and sung by a chorus 50, either during the procession, or in the temples of the deities, or at the sumptuous entertainments made on these occasions, either by the conquerors or their friends. . If neither the conqueror, nor his friends, were able or willing to procure a particular ode in honour of his victory. he was obliged to content himself with that made by Archilochus, or perhaps with a part of it; as I have before observed, in the account which bath already been given of this ode from the scholiast of Pindar.

How sumptuous these entertainments (called by the Greeks νικη/ήρια, i. e. feasts of victory) sometimes were, and with how much emulation the friends of the conqueror contended with each other for the honour of entertaining him, may be

<sup>50</sup> Instances of what I here advance relating to the several places where these Odes were sang, shall be given in my Notes on the Odes of Pindar.

collected from the following story told by Plutarch in the life of Phocion: Phocus, the son of that great man, having obtained a victory in the Panathenean Games, and being invited by several of his friends to accept of an entertainment on that occasion, Phocion at length ended the dispute by pitching upon one, to whom he thought that preference was due. But when he came to the feast, and saw the extravagant preparations that were made for it, and among other things large vessels filled with wine and spices, set before the guests when they came in, to wash their feet, he said to his son, 'Phocus, why don't you make your friend desist from dishonouring your victory?

I shall finish this account of the public entries of the conquerors, with observing, that as among the Romans every victory did not entitle a general to the honour of a triumph, so neither among the Greeks did a victory in any Games (of which the number in Greece cannot easily be reckoned) entitle the conqueror to the honour of a public entry. This privilege was confined to a few only, and at first, probably, to those only which were called sacred: namely, the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean. The number of these Games (from this privilege, named Iselastici Agones, i. e. Games, entitling the conqueror to a triumphal entry) seems to have been afterwards increased by the authority of the Roman emperors 51; who, besides that privilege, annexed others to them of the same kind with those anciently, and perhaps ori-

<sup>51</sup> See Pliny's Epistic to Trajan, De Iselasticis, with the Emperor's answer,

ginally, appropriated by the Greeks to the four sacred Games. What these were, I shall now proceed to show.

The most considerable of these was the stipend or salary, allotted to the sacred conquerors by their respective cities: which became due, according to the regulation made by Trajan, from the time of their public entry, and was continued to them for the remainder of their lives. It appears indeed by Pliny's letter to that emperor, that the conquerors demanded their salaries from the time of their gaining the victory; and, perhaps, they founded their demand upon the ancient practice of the Greeks. What their stipends or salaries amounted to at their first institution, is no where said; but they seem to have increased in proportion as the fondness, or madness rather, of the Grecians for those sacred conquerors increased, till there was reason to apprehend that they might become burthensome to the public, either from their excess, or from the number of those who were entitled to them. To put a final stop to this growing evil among his own people at least, Solon 52, the great legislator of the Athenians, made a law, by which he limited the annual allowance of an Olympic conqueror to five hundred drachmæ. or sixteen pounds two shillings and eleven pence 53; that of an Isthmian conqueror to one hundred drachmæ only, or three pounds four shillings and seven-pence; and so of the others in proportion; which by the way shows the great preference given to the Olympic crown.

<sup>52</sup> Laert, et Plut. in Solone. 53 S

<sup>53</sup> See Arboth, Tables.

In Sparta indeed, from whence Lycurgus had banished gold and silver, there was no pecuniary reward allotted to these conquerors, nor any public allowance of provisions, as there was in all the other states of Greece, and even at Athens, till it was either changed by Solon into money, or rated by him at the sums above mentioned. The govern-ment of Sparta was calculated for a military people only, and indeed was more proper for a camp than a city; the rewards were of the same kind, rather honourable than lucrative. What that was, which was conferred upon a sacred conqueror, and how highly it was valued by those enthusiastic lovers of military glory, will appear by the answer of a Spartan 54, who at the Olympic Games having been tempted by the offer of a large sum of money, either to decline the contest, or yield the victory, refused it; and being questioned, after he had with much difficulty subdued his adversary, what he should gain by that victory; answered with a smile, ' I shall have the honour of being posted before my king in battle,'

It ought not to be concluded from what has been said, that the Olympic olive was less valued at Sparta than at Athens, or any other of the Greek cities. Lycurgus, the lawgiver of Sparta, is by some authors said to have joined with Iphitus in restoring the Olympic Games; which account, if true, puts this matter out of all question; and if false, could never have gained credit, had the Spartans treated the Olympic olive with contempt. Add to this, that in the list of Olympic conquerors

<sup>54</sup> Plut. in Lycurgo.

are to be found the names of several Spartans; and in Pausanias an account of many statues erected at Olympia in honour of their victories; but we may learn what opinion the Spartans in general entertained of the glory of an Olympic victory, by this saying of a Spartan woman 55, who, while she was engaged in a public procession, hearing that a victory had been obtained over the enemies of Sparta, and being told at the same time that her son was dead of the wounds he had received in the battle, instead of pulling the chaplet from her head, and showing any signs of grief, gloried in the news, and said to her companion, 'How much more honourable is it for him thus to die in battle, than to live and gain an Olympic crown!' as if she had said, 'An Olympic victory is esteemed the highest honour; but I think it more glorious for my son to die in battle fighting for his country.' And indeed she gave the preference where it was due.

Another reward conferred upon the sacred conquerors was, the honour of the first seat at all public spectacles. This prerogative is mentioned in a poem written by Xenophanes, and quoted by Athenæus; in which also, besides an allowance of provisions, notice is taken of a present <sup>56</sup> made to them by the public, to serve as a monument of their glory. What these presents were is not said; it is probable they were different in different places. In Cornelius Nepos <sup>57</sup> we read of crowns of gold given at Athens to the Olympic conquerors: perhaps a crown of gold was the usual present of that

<sup>55</sup> Plut, in Apophth, Lac.

<sup>36</sup> Deipn. lib. x. c. 2. nal δωρον, ο οί καιμείλιον είπ.

<sup>57</sup> In Alcibiade,

city, the value of which was limited by the law of Solon above mentioned; for that law may as well be understood to relate to the presents as to the yearly allowance of provisions made to the sacred conquerors: and it is evident from the words of Xenophanes, cited by Athenaus, that they were entitled to both.

The last privilege granted to the sacred conquerors, which was an immunity from all civil offices, seems to have been owing to the Roman emperors; who not only preserved to them their ancient rights, but added others from time to time; among these was the exemption just mentioned, of which I can find no traces among the ancient Greeks. Neither was this exemption granted to all the sacred conquerors, but to those only who had gained three victories; as appears from the following rescript of the emperors Diocletian and Maximian: 'Athletis ita demum, si per omnem ætatem certûssent, coronis quoque non minus tribus certaminis sacri, in quibus vel semel Romæ, seu antiquæ Græciæ merito coronati, non æmulis corruptis ac redemptis probentur, civilium munerum tribui solet vacatio.' This rescript is as it were the text, which gave occasion to the long and learned work of Petrus Faber, Pierre du Faur, entitled Agonisticon; which, as Mons. Burette 58 observes, (whose words I have here translated) may well pass for an ample comment upon a law conceived in so few words.

These are all the honours and privileges, as far as I can find, to which the sacred conquerors were

<sup>58 3</sup> Mem. sur les Athletes,

entitled either by the laws or customs of their respective countries. To these indeed were sometimes added statues, or other monuments of glory, inscriptions, and even altars, upon which sacrifices were offered to them as to heroes or demi-gods: of which last three instances are recorded in history. The first was Philip of Crotona, an Olympic conqueror, and the most beautiful man of histime; to whom the Egestans, after his death, erected an heroic monument, and offered sacrifices; though, according to Herodotus '9', who relates this story, he seems to have owed these extraordinary honours rather to his beauty than to his Olympje victory.

The second is Euthymus of Locris, an athlete, famous for his strength, and for having always come off victorious in the castus at Olympia, without being ever vanquished. To this conqueror were erected two statues, one at Locris, the other at Olympia, which were both struck with lightning in one and the same day. To him his countrymen the Locrians, in obedience to the commands of an oracle, offered sacrifices not only after his death, but even while he was yet alive: in all which story, says Pliny 60 the naturalist, who relates it, nothing appears to me so wonderful, as the gods having youchsafed to appoint these sacrifices.

Theagenes, of the island of Thasus, was the third of these heroes or demi-gods; of whose actions and victories, amounting in all to fourteen hundred, as also of his deification, Pausanias 61 recounts many wonders, with which I shall not trou-

<sup>59</sup> Terps, c, 47, 60 Lib. i, c, 47, 61 Lib. vi, c, 11.

ble the reader. It is sufficient for my present purpose to observe from that author, that he was worshipped after his death, not by the Thasians only, but by many other people as well Greeks as Barbarians; who set up images of him in many places, and ascribed to them the miraculous power of healing all manner of diseases,

As these honours were in themselves very extraordinary, so were they very uncommon; and seen, 
if well considered, to have arisen rather from some 
peculiar circumstance or incident, which either the 
superstition of the people, or the artifice of those 
who managed the oracles, denominated miraculous, 
than from any opinion commonly entertained, that 
divine honours were really due to the merit of these 
admired conquerors. They were indeed all of them 
treated with great reverence and distinction, set 
above all other mortals, and almost equalled to the 
gods, as Horace intimates in these words:

Palmaque nobilis Terrarum Dominos evehit ad Deos.

And with these honours and rewards, I dare say it will be thought, they had more than sufficient reason to be contented.

### SECTION XVII.

#### OF THE UTILITY OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES.

HAVING in the preceding sections given the best and fullest account, that I have been able to collect, of the original establishment, the laws, order, and economy of the Olympic Games, together with the several honours, privileges, and rewards conferred upon the sacred conquerors in their respective countries. I shall in this endeavour to point out some of the principal emoluments, accruing to the whole Grecian name from this great political institution; which, under the title and sanction of a religious festival, attained to such a degree of reverence and esteem, as enabled it to subsist above a thousand years; a duration exceeding that of any of the most famous empires and commonwealths of the ancient world. If during this long term, the Grecians do not appear to have availed themselves of all the advantages offered to them by the laws and constitution of the Olympic Games. it cannot from hence be concluded, that no such advantages were either originally included in that institution, or could afterwards have been grafted on it: since the Grecians, though they seldom wanted a sufficient number of lawgivers and philosophers, whose sagacity enabled them to discover, as their virtue prompted them to pursue, whatever might conduce to the public good, paid but little deference to the politics of those sage counsellors.

and generally kept their attention fixed upon the particular views, which the separate interests of the several little states, into which they were divided, or the factions which rent those little states into different parties, suggested; and by which they were either so blinded as not to see, or so disjointed as never unanimously to concur in following, those wise schemes which tended to unite them all in one great body, under one common name. Such apparently was the tendency of that law of the Olympic Games, which excluded all who were not Grecians from contending in them; as of that other also, which enjoined a cessation of hostilities among all those states of Greece, which happened to be at war with each other, under the penalty of being refused the liberty of performing their sacrifices to Jupiter at Olympia, upon that his solemn festival. Of the wisdom and policy of these laws the Grecians, indeed, seem to have been so little sensible, as to have drawn from them scarce any of those great advantages which they were calculated to produce; though they eagerly and universally laid hold of some far less important, suggested to them by other parts of this institution. These were the gymnastic and equestrian Games; to the conquerors in which the Olympic olive being offered as an honorary reward, soon kindled among the several states of Greece such an emulation and ardour to excel in all the various exercises of which they consisted, that there was scarce a town of any note, either in Greece itself, or in the colonies of Greek extraction settled along the coasts of Asia and Africa, in the Ionian and Ægean islands, in Sicily, Italy, and many other parts of Europe, in

which there was not a gymnasium, or school of exercise, maintained at the public expense, with a view of training up their youth in a manner that best suited, as they imagined, to make them useful to their country. Neither were they withheld from concurring with this part of the great political institution of the Olympic Games by the partial considerations above mentioned, arising from the different and inconsistent views and interests of the several states, into which Greece was divided; since, though the citizens of every Grecian state were equally admitted to contend, if duly qualified, for the Olympic crown, yet was every state left at liberty to pursue its own particular schemes, whether of ambition or security, notwithstanding the temporary obedience which they all agreed to pay to the Olympic laws; during the celebration of that festival. And therefore, as by training up their youth in the gymnastic exercises, the several states of Greece perceived they were able to qualify their citizens for obtaining the Olympic olive, upon which they came by degrees to set a great, and perhaps too great a value, and render them at the same time serviceable to the commonwealth in those wars, whether offensive or defensive, in which every state, either from its strength or weakness, was almost perpetually engaged; it is no wonder that the gymnastic exercises were so cultivated and encouraged by the Grecians, and came to be esteemed by them as the principal part of the Olympic institution. In which light I shall now consider them, and begin those observations, which I here propose to make, on the utility of the Olympic Games, by showing what advantages the

Greeks in general derived from the gymnastic exercises. To this purpose I shall present the reader with a translation of a dialogue of Lucian, in which this subject is fully treated, under the character of Solon the great legislator of the Athenians, and one of the most renowned of the Grecian sages. Anacharsis, the other interlocutor in this dialogue, was, and for what purposes he came into Greece, will appear from the dialogue itself; which I choose to give entire, though it contain some matters not strictly relative to the point in question, because those matters, I am persuaded, will afford the reader both entertainment and instruction, The scene is laid in Athens, in a gymnasium, or school of exercise; an exact plan and description of which, from Vitravius, may be seen in Mercurialis de Arte Gymnastica, but which is too long to be licre inserted. It may be sufficient to observe, that these gumnasiums, or schools of exercise, were very spacious buildings of a square or oblong form. surrounded on the outside with porticos, and containing on the inside a large open area for the exercises, encompassed likewise with porticos, covered places for exercise in bad weather, baths, chambers for oil, sand, &c. a studium, and groves of trees, with several seats and benches up and down: all contrived for the pleasure and convenience of those who frequented them, either on account of exercising themselves, seeing the exercises of others, or hearing the rhetoricians, philosophers, and other men of learning, who here read their lectures, held their disputations, and recited their several performances, whether in prose or verse.

# GYMNASTIC EXERCISES.

## A DIALOGUE;

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK-OF LUCIAN.

### SOLON AND ANACHARSIS.

### Anacharsis.

Tell me, Solon, what those young fellows are about, who are grappled and locked together in that manner, and endeavouring to trip up one another; and those others, who roll and tumble in the mud like so many hogs, and squeeze and throttle each other till they are almost strangled. But just now I saw them strip, anoint and rub one another by turns, very peaceably and like good friends; when all on a sudden, and without any offence taken, as I could perceive, they fell together by the ears, threw their heads in each others faces, and butted like two rams; and now one of them; as you see, has lifted his antagonist off his legs, dashed him upon the ground, and, falling upon him, will not suffer him to rise; but, on the contrary, drives him deeper into the mud, and, twisting his legs about

his middle, and setting his elbow in his throat, seems determined to suffocate him; while the poor wretch at the same time strikes him gently on the shoulder, begging quarter, as I suppose, and beseeching him not to choak him in good earnest. Neither can I observe, that they are in the least shy of dirting themselves, notwithstanding their being rubbed all over with oil; and indeed they soon hide it with mud; by the help of which, and a pretty deal of sweat, they become so slippery, that I cannot forbear laughing to see them sliding like eels out of one another's hands. Yonder too are others, doing the same thing in the open air. with this difference, that instead of mud they are covered over with sand, which they dig up and cast upon one another, while each seems to receive it very willingly; and indeed, like a parcel of cocks and hens, they spread and throw it carefully all over their bodies, in order, as I suppose, to prevent their escaping so easily out of each other's embraces; while the sand, by diminishing and drying up the lubricity occasioned by the oil, gives each of them a firmer and better hold upon his adversary. And now being sufficiently sanded over. they fall to it with hand and foot, without either of them endeavouring to throw down his antagonist. And one of them seems to be spitting out all his teeth, with a whole mouthful of sand and blood, occasioned by a terrible blow which he has just now received upon the jaws. Neither does that magistrate there part them, or put an end to the battle (for I take him to be some magistrate or

<sup>1</sup> The gymnasiarch, or president of the gymnasium.

other, by his being clothed in purple); on the contrary, he encourages them to proceed, and praises that fellow who struck the other on the mouth. In other places too I see others who are in the same manner covered over with sand, and who spring up as if they were running, and yet they remain upon the same spot, and then leap up all together, and kick about their heels in the air. Now I would fain know to what purpose they do all this; for to me it appears so like madness, that no one shall easily convince me, that they who do this are not beside themselves.

Solon. No wonder, Anacharsis, that these things appear strange to you, considering they are foreign, and totally different from the manners of the Scythians; who on their part have undoubtedly many customs, that would in like manner to a Grecian spectator seem as ridiculous and absurd as those do But satisfy yourself, my friend, there is nothing of madness in what you see; neither do those young fellows strike, tumble in the mud, and cover one another over with sand, from a quarrelsome and abusive spirit. These things have their utility and pleasure, and give, besides, no small strength and vigour to our bodies. And I question not, if you continue any time in Greece, as I suppose you intend to do, but you will shortly make one among those dirty fellows, that are smeared all over with mud and sand; so pleasant and so profitable will the thing appear to you.

Ana. Far from it, Solon! You may keep your pleasure and your profit to yourselves; for if any of you was to put me into such a pickle, he should know that I do not wear a sword to no purpose.

But tell me, what name do you give to these things, or what must we say these fellows are doing?

Solon, This place, Anacharsis, is by us called a gymnusium, and is dedicated to Apollo the Lycian; whose image you there see leaning upon a column, and holding his bow in his left hand, while his right hand, bent over his head, seems to denote weariness and repose after long labour and fatigue. And as for the exercises, that are performed in this place, that which is practised vonder in the mud is called the pale, or wrestling, as is that also in which those young fellows in the sand are now engaged; but they whom you see standing upright, and beating and buffeting one another, are named pancratiasts. Besides these exercises, we have many more of the like nature; as the exercises of the cæstus, of the quoit, and leaping. Of these consist our Games, in which whoever comes off conqueror, is deemed the best man, and obtains the prize.

Ana. Pray, what may those prizes be?

Solon. In the Olympic Games, a crown made of the branches of a wild olive; in the Isthmian, of the branches of the pine tree; in the Nemean, of parsley; in the Pythian, of laurel; and with us, in our Panathenæan Games, a jar of oil, made from the olive consecrated to Minerva. What do you laugh at, Anacharsis? Is it because you think these prizes trifling and ridiculous?

<sup>2</sup> In the original it is Πυθοῦ ἐὲ μῆκα τῶν Ἰεῶν τῷ Θιω. But as the learnet are not agreed upon the meaning of μῆκα in this and other passages, and as a crown of lauret, in Pundar and other authors, is given to the conquerors in the Pythian Games, I choose to substitute that instead of translating the above-written words.

Ana. Oh, by no means, Solon. On the contrary, you have reckoned up a parcel of magnificent prizes; such as give their donors good reason to value themselves upon their liberality; and such as are extremely worth all the pains and labours that people undergo to obtain them.

Solon. But, my good friend, we do not singly regard the prizes themselves, but consider them as tokens and ensigns of the victory; the glory attending upon which is of the utmost value to the conquerors. For this, all those who seek for honour from their toils, think it glorious to be kicked and cuffed, since without trouble it is not to be obtained: on the contrary, he who would attain to it must previously undergo many hardships and difficulties, and expect from his labours only an event so delightful and advantageous.

Ana. What you call advantageous and delightful, Solon, is for these conquerors to be crowned in the view of all the world, and to be praised for their victories, who just before were the objects of pity and compassion on account of their wounds and bruises: and yet it seems they think themselves happy if, in return for all their labours, they can get a branch of laurel, or a little parsley.

Solon. I tell you, Anacharsis, you are still ignorant of our customs: but in a little while you will have another opinion of then; when you go to our great festivals, and see the vast concourse of people, and theatres capable of containing many thousands crowded with spectators, who all come to view these contests; when you hear the praises that are bestowed upon the combatants, and the conqueror deemed equal to a god.

Ana. That very thing, Solon, is the most miserable circumstance of all, that they do not suffer these injuries in the sight of a few people only, but in the presence of such a number of spectators, so many witnesses of their shame; who undoubtedly must esteem them very happy, when they see them streaming with blood, or almost strangled by their antagonists, for such is the felicity that attends these victories. But I must tell you, Solon, that amongst us Scythians, if any man strikes another, throws him down, or tears his garment, he is grievously fined by the elders, though the injury was done in the presence of but a few witnesses; and not before such a multitude of people as, you say, come together at the Isthmian and Olympic Games. For my part, I cannot help pitying the combatants for what they undergo, and wondering at the spectators, who, you tell me, come together from all parts to these festivals, neglecting their necessary business, and keeping holiday upon no better a pretence than this. Neither can I conceive what pleasure there is in seeing fellows beat, wounded, dashed against the ground, and mangled by one another.

Solon. If it were now the season, Anaelarsis, either of the Olympic, the Isthmian, or the Panaenthenaean Games, the sight of what passes there would instruct you, that it is not without good reason that we concern ourselves so seriously with these matters. For it is not in the power of language to give you so strong a relish of the pleasure arising from theese spectacles, as if, seated there in the middle of the spectators, you yourself beheld the courage of the combatants, the beauty of their

bodies, their surprising health and vigour, their admirable skill, their indefatigable strength, their boldness, their ardour and emulation, their unconquerable resolution, and unwearied application and solicitude to obtain the victory. I am certain you would never cease praising, and applauding, and clapping.

Ana. And laughing, and hooting too, Solon, I can assure you. For all those fine things that you just now reckoned up, their courage, their vigour, their beauty, and their resolution, I see all thrown away for nothing; not to rescue their country from danger, their lands from pillage, or their friends and families from captivity and oppression. braver, therefore, and the better these fellows are, the more ridiculous they to suffer such things, and endure so much to no purpose; to disgrace and soil with sand, and knobs, and swellings, the comeliness and large proportion of their bodies, that they may be masters of a bit of laurel and wild olive, for I never can forget those same noble prizes. But tell me, are these prizes given to all the combatants?

Solon, By no means: they can fall to the share

of but one amongst them all.

Ana. They take all these pains then, Solon, upon an uncertain and doubtful prospect of victory, knowing that there can be but one conqueror, and many conquered; who, poor wretches, must have nothing for their labour but wounds and bruises.

Solon. You seem, Anacharsis, to have no idea of a well-constituted government, or you would not have thus turned into ridicule some of our best and wisest customs. But if ever you come to consider how a commonwealth is to be framed, and how her citizens are to be ordered for the best, you will then approve of these exercises, and the emulation wherewith we endeavour to excel in them; and will understand that there is much profit mingled with these labours, though now you think them useless and impertinent.

Ana. Indeed, Solon, for no other reason did I come from Scythia to Greece, traversing such a tract of country, and passing over the broad and stormy Euxine, but to be instructed in the laws of the Greeks; to observe their manners, and study the best forms of government. For the same reason, among all the Athenians, and all other strangers, have I selected you for a friend, out of regard to the reputation I have heard of your having composed a set of laws, invented the best rules of life, and introduced among your citizens wholesome disciplines and regulations; and framed indeed the whole system of their commonwealth. Wherefore you cannot have so great an inclination to instruct and take me for your disciple, as I shall have pleasure in sitting by you, even hungry and thirsty as I am, and hearing you discourse, as long as you can hold out, upon laws and government,

Solon. It is no easy matter, my friend, to go through all in a short time; but you shall be instructed, by degrees, in some particulars, concerning the worship of the gods, the duty to our parents, the laws of marriage, &c. And as to what relates to our youth, and the manner in which they are ordered, as soon as they begin to understand what is right, are growing towards men, and can endure labour and fatigue, all this will I now explain to you, that you may understand for what purpose

these exercises have been prescribed to them; and wherefore we oblige them to inure themselves to toil, not with a view to the Games only, that they may obtain the prizes, for to them but few out of many can attain, but that they may by these means be enabled to acquire for themselves and their country a much greater good. There is a contest, Anacharsis, of another kind, and of much more general concern, in which all good citizens should be engaged; and a crown, not made up of olive, pine, or parsley, but comprehending the happiness and welfare of mankind; as liberty, private and public, wealth, honour, the observation and enjoyment of the holy festivals of our country, and the safety and security of our friends and kindred; in a word, all those blessings that we ask of heaven. All these things are interwoven in this crown, and are the result of the contest I speak of; and to which these exercises and these labours are not a little conducive.

Ana. Are not you then, Solon, a strange man, when you had such prizes as these, to tell me of laurel, and parsley, and branches of wild olive, and pine trees?

Solon. Neither will these prizes, Anacharsis, appear trifling to you, when you have heard what I have to say; since they arise from the same principle, and are only lesser parts of that greater contest, and that crown, that beatific crown I spoke of. But my discourse, I know not how, has overleaped all method, and led me to mention those things first, which are transacted in the Isthmian, the Olympic, and the Nemean Games. But, however, as we are both at leisure, and you, as you

say, are desirous of hearing, we may easily run back to the beginning, to that great public contest; for the sake of which, I maintain, all these things were originally instituted.

Ana. Better do so, Solon; besides, the discourse will run faster off when reduced to method, perhaps I may be persuaded, in a little time, not to laugh when I see a man valuing himself upon his olive or parsley crown. But if you please, let us go into that shady place, and sit down upon those benches, that we may not be troubled with the noise of those who are hollowing to the combatants. Besides, I must confess that I cannot very well bear this hot scorching sun, darting so directly on my bare head; for I thought it advisable to leave my bonnet behind, that I might not appear to be a foreigner by my dress. It is now also the season of the year, in which that hottest of constellations, by you called the dog-star, sets every thing on fire, and makes the air itself dry and parching; especially when the sun, full south and directly over our heads, darts upon us his intolerable beams: wherefore, I am surprised to see that you, who are now in years, neither sweat with heat as I do, nor seem at all disturbed at it, nor look about for a shady place to get under; but, on the contrary, with great case and contentment receive the sun.

Solon. These unprofitable toils, Anacharsis, these continual rollings in the mud, and these hardships and labours that we endure in the open air and in the sand, serve to arm and fortify us against the darts of the sun; and make us want no bonnet to keep his beams from our heads; but let us go. In this conversation, however, you must not look upon

all I say as law, and so rest satisfied with it; but wherever you shall think me wrong, contradict me and set me right; in which case I shall not fail of attaining one of these two things, either thoroughly to convince you, or by your objections to be myself made sensible of my own errors. Upon which occasion the whole city of Athens will not fail to acknowledge her obligations to you, since in instructing me you shall perceive you oblige her; from whom I shall secrete nothing, but, throwing all into the public stock, will say to the people, 'Ye men of Athens, I indeed gave you laws, such as I believed would be most serviceable to the state: but this stranger here, (pointing to you, Anacharsis,) this Scythian, who is a wise man, hath overthrown all my knowledge, and hath taught me better doctrines and better institutions: wherefore let him be recorded as a benefactor to your state, and let his statue in brass be erected near the image of Minerva, among those heroes from whom our Athenian tribes derive their names.' And assure yourself, that the Athenians will never be ashamed to learn, even from a foreigner and a Scythian, what shall be expedient for them.

Ana. This is what I have always heard, that you Athenians were much given to irony. For how should I, a wanderer, who have always lived in waggons, perpetually moving from place to place, who never dwelt in any city, nor ever saw one till now, how should I be able to discourse upon government, and teach a people, as old as the earth they live on, and who for these many ages have inhabited this most ancient city, under good and wholesome laws? Much less can I instruct thee,

Solon, who from the very beginning, as they sav. have applied yourself to that most useful science. of knowing how a state may be best administered, and what laws are fittest to render it flourishing and happy. But, however, I will obey your orders as a legislator, and contradict you where I shall think you mistaken, that I myself may be more thoroughly informed. But see, we are now got out of the sun into the shade, and here, upon these cold stones, we may sit very pleasantly, and with great conveniency. Now begin your discourse, and tell me how, even from childhood, you manage and exercise your youth, so as out of this mud and these labours they come forth good and valiant men: as also how this same sand, and these tumblings and rollings, can conduce to make them virtuous: for this is what I have all along principally wanted to know. For the other matters, you shall teach me as occasion offers. But pray remember, Solon, that you are talking to a foreigner; by which I mean, that your arguments must be neither intricate nor long; for if they run into any length, I am afraid I shall not remember the beginning.

Solon. You yourself, Anacharsis, will be better able to judge when I become obscure, or wander idly and unprofitably from my subject; in either of which cases you have full liberty to interrupt me, to put in what you please, and to cut me short. But if I shoot neither beyond nor beside the mark, you will have no reason to object to the length of my discourse. This is the constant practice of the court of the Areopagus, which takes cognizance of capital causes. For when the judges are sitting on the hill of Mars upon any trial, relating to mur-

der, wilful maining, or setting fire to an house, the parties have leave to plead, and speak by turns, both the plaintiff and the defendant themselves, or orators whom they hire to plead for them. And while they speak to the purpose, the court suffers and hears them patiently. But if any one pretends to make a long preamble to his speech, with a view of inclining the judges to his cause; or attempts to raise compassion or aggravate matters from any circumstance, foreign to the point in question (a practice very frequent among youthful orators), the cryer going to him silences him forthwith, not suffering him to trifle with the court, or involve the cause in words; that the judges may have nothing before them but the plain and naked fact. In like manner, Anacharsis, I constitute you my judge upon this occasion; agreeably therefore to the practice of my own court, give me a patient hearing, or, if you find me playing the orator upon you, command me silence. As long as I keep strictly to my subject, there will be no harm, if I draw out my discourse into some length, for we are not now conversing in the sun, that you need be uneasy should I be a little tedious. This shade is thick. and we are entirely at leisure.

Ana. What you observe, Solon, is very right, and I am much obliged to you for your short digression, by which you have acquainted me with the practice of the Arcopagus; a practice truly admirable, and becoming upright judges who purpose to give judgment according to truth. But now to the other matters: and since you have constituted me a judge, I shall, in hearing you, observe the method followed by that court.

Solon. It is necessary in the first place for you to hear, in a few words, what we understand by a city and citizens. By a city, then, we do not mean the buildings, the walls, the temples, and the harbours; all these we look upon as a kind of body, stable and immovable, fitted for the reception of the inhabitants, in whom, as the animating soul, we place the whole power and authority of fulfilling, ordering, commanding, and preserving every thing. Upon this persuasion we take care, as you see, of the body of the city to render it within as beautiful as may be, by adorning it with buildings; and to secure it, as much as possible, from without by walls and ramparts. But our first and principal concern is, how to make our citizens virtuous in mind, and strong in body; for such men are most likely to live decently and orderly together in time of peace, and in war to guard the city, and preserve it free and happy. The care of them in their infancy is left to their mothers, their nurses and tutors; with directions to bring them up and instruct them in all the parts of a liberal and ingenuous education. But as soon as they come to understand what is right and commendable, when a sense of shame, bashfulness, diffidence, and a love of virtue, begins to spring in their minds; and when their bodies are become sufficient to endure toil and labour, their ioints and members compact, and more firmly knit together, they are then taken and instructed as to their minds in other branches of learning, and taught in another manner to accustom their bodies to hardships and fatigues. For we are by no means of opinion, that it is sufficient for us to be, either in mind or body, those things only that nature made

us. Either part of us stands in need of discipline and instruction, by means of which, the good that is in us may be rendered much better, and the bad amended and redressed. An example of our proceeding may be taken from the constant practice of gardeners, who, while the plants are low and tender, cover and fence them round, to keep them from being injured by the winds; but when their stems grow large and strong, they prune away their superfluities, and expose them to be shaken and agitated by the winds, in order to render them the more fruitful. To rouse and exercise their minds, we begin with teaching them music and arithmetic, to form their letters in writing, and in reading to pronounce them clearly and exactly. As they advance, we rehearse to them the sayings of wise men, the actions of former times, and other useful lessons, dressed out in metre, that they may the better retain them in their memories. By this means hearing perpetually of brave and virtuous actions, they are incited by degrees, and provoked to a desire of imitating them, that their names in like manner may be sung and admired by posterity. In which kind of poetry we have many pieces written by Hesiod and Homer. When they now draw towards an age fit to be admitted into public offices, and it becomes expedient for them to think of concerning themselves with the affairs of government:-but these matters, perhaps, are foreign to my purpose, which was to explain the intention of the bodily exercises in which we think proper to employ them, and not those of the mind; wherefore I impose silence upon myself, without waiting for the cryer, or the orders of you my judge; who out of civility and respect, as I suppose, suffer me to go on prating thus idly about matters nothing to the purpose.

Ana. Tell me. Solon, hath the court of the Areopagus found out no proper punishment for those who pass over in silence such things that are most necessary to be known?

Solon. I cannot guess why you ask me that

question.

Ana. Because, omitting to acquaint me with the particulars relating to the mind, which I esteem the most excellent and the best worth hearing, you are going to relate matters of much less importance,

bodily toils, and gymnastic exercises.

Solon, Calling to mind, Anacharsis, what was said at the beginning of this conversation, I was not willing to wander from my subject, lest by saying too much I should perplex your memory; but, if you think proper, I will run over these matters in as few words as possible; leaving a more exact disquisition of them to another opportunity. In order, therefore, to give their minds a proper tone and harmony, we instruct them in our laws; which being written in a large and fair character, are publicly exposed to the perusal of every one, who from their ordinances may learn what is to be done, and what to be avoided. We then introduce them into the societies of good and worthy men, (such as we call sophists and philosophers) from whose conversation they learn to speak pertinently and properly, to act fairly and justly, to live together like fellow-citizens, to attempt no misbecoming action, to pursue what is commendable, and to refrain from all kinds of violence,

Besides all this, we carry them for their instruction into the public theatres, where in the fables, both of tragedies and comedies, are set before them the virtues and vices of former times; that they may avoid the one and enulate the other. To our comic writers we allow the liberty of ridiculing and abusing such citizens as they know to be guilty of any base or unworthy action. And this we do as well for their own sakes, who by such kind of reprimands may be made better, as for the many who may be warned by their means to avoid the censure due to the like offences.

Ana. I have seen those same tragedians and comedians, as you call them, Solon, those fellows with heavy, high-heeled buskins, and robes all over laced with gold; who wore most ridiculous visors, with monstrous gaping mouths, within which they make a most horrid bellowing, and strut about in those odd kind of shoes, I cannot imagine how, without falling: this, if I mistake not, was at the time when von celebrated the festival of Bacchus. comedians were shorter, not mounted up so high, and more like men; neither did they roar so loud: but their visors were more ridiculous, and set the whole theatre a laughing. Whereas when those other tall fellows appeared, the audience listened to them with most dismal faces, pitying them, as I suppose, for dragging after them those monstrous shackles.

Solon. It was not the actors, good Anacharsis, whom they commiserated; the poet in all likelihood had set before them some old melancholy story, and put into the mouths of his tragedians some doleful speeches, by which all the audience

was moved to tears. You observed, perhaps, at the same time, some people playing upon flutes, and others standing in a circle, and singing; which music and songs, Anacharsis, are by no means useless: for all these things tend equally to what and animate the minds of our young men, and make them better. As to our manuer of exercising their bodies, which you seemed desirous of knowing, it is this: as soon as their bodies are become a little compact and firm, we strip them naked. and accustom them in the first place to the open air, familiarizing them with all seasons, that they may neither grow uneasy or impatient with heat. nor shrink and yield to the extremity of cold: after this, we anoint and mollify them with oil, to render them more supple; it being, in our opinions. ridiculous to imagine that our bodies, while they vet partake of life, should receive no benefit from the oil, when leather, that is nothing but a dead hide, by being rubbed and softened with it, becomes more tough and durable. On the other hand, contriving various kinds of exercises, and appointing masters in each of them, we cause our young men to learn, some of them the exercise of the castus, others that of the pancratium, that they may be accustomed to endure pain and toil: to brave a blow, and not turn their backs for fear of being wounded: whence there arise two very considerable advantages, for in the first place our youth by these means become more intrepid and bold in danger, and less careful of their persons : and are in the next place rendered more healthy and vigorous. Those, who are instructed in the exercise of wrestling, learn from thence to fall

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without any hurt, to rise nimbly, to push and granple with their adversaries, to twist and turn them, to squeeze them till they are almost strangled, and lift them from the ground. Qualities, that without doubt have their uses; the chief of which is, that their bodies, thus kept in continual exercise, become more robust, and less liable to be injured. The second advantage, and that no inconsiderable one, is, that being perfect and expert in these matters, they will not be at a loss, should they ever have occasion to make use of them in war. For it is evident that such a man, if he be grappled with his enemy, will by his skill in tripping more readily throw him down; or if he be fallen himself, will know how to rise again with great ease and celerity. For all these exercises, Anacharsis, are established with a final view to that contest which is decided by the sword; since through their means we flatter ourselves that we shall be supplied with better soldiers, especially as by softening their naked bodies, and inuring them to labour, we not only make them healthier and stronger, but lighter also, and more lithesome to themselves, though heavier at the same time, and more unwieldy to their antagonists. You guess by this time, I do not question, what sort of fellows they are like to prove in arms, who even naked are wont to strike a terror into their enemics; whose bodies are neither overloaded with flesh, pallid and unactive, nor meagre, white, and livid, like those of women. almost putrefied by being kept always from the air, shivering, apt with the least motion to run down with sweat, and panting beneath the burden of an helmet, especially if the sun shines hot, as he

does at present, from the south. Fine soldiers these for service, who can neither endure drought nor dust: whom the sight of blood throws into disorder; and who die away with fear before they come within the reach of a spear, or feel the sword of the enemy! whereas our tawny, sunburnt, hardfavoured youth, that seem full of spirit, vital heat, and manly vigour, have their bodies in such proper order, as on the one hand to be neither dry nor shrivelled, nor too stuffed or heavy on the other: but keeping them within due limits they waste away, by sweating, all superfluous and uscless flesh, and strenuously preserve, without the mixture of any unsoundness, whatever conduces to render them strong and active. For these exercises operate upon our bodies like a winnowing-fan upon corn : blowing away the chaff and straw, and senarating, cleaning, and heaping up the grain; the consequence of which is, that they become healthy. and able to go through a great deal of labour and fatigue. Besides, that such a one is a long time ere he begin to sweat, and is seldom or never faint. For, to return once more to our comparison of the corn, let any one take fire and cast it into the grain, and into the chaff and straw, I dare say the latter would take fire much the soonest; while the former would kindle by degrees, neither producing any great flame, nor blazing up at once, but, burning slowly and at bottom, would be a considerable time before it was all consumed: such a constitution of body, in like manner attacked by any toil or sickness, would not be soon affected by it, or easily subdued; the inward parts being all sound and in good condition, and the outward so well for-

tified against all attacks of that kind, as not easily to receive any injury from the assaults either of cold or of the sun himself. And as to their enduring fatigue, a constant stream of inward warmth, collected as it were long before, and kept in reserve against a necessary occasion, furnishes them with a plentiful supply of spirit and vigour, and renders them almost indefatigable: for their having previously innred themselves to toil and labour, increases instead of diminishing their strength; which by being agitated constantly grows the faster. Besides all this, we exercise our youth in running, accustoming them not only to hold out through a long course, but to perform it with the utmost expedition; for which purpose we endeavour to make them light and nimble. Neither are these races performed upon hard or solid ground, but in a deep sand, which sliding away and yielding perpetually to the tread, allows them no sure footing, either to rise upon their feet, or to set them down firmly. They are exercised also in leaping over a trench perhaps, or whatever happens to be in their way: in performing of which, they fill their hands with great pieces of lead: after this they contend with each other in darting, and trying who shall cast his spear the furthest. You saw lying in the gymna-sium a lump of brass, circular and not unlike a small shield, but without a handle or thong. You tried to take it up, and found it very weighty, and difficult to be laid hold of by reason of its smoothness; this they toss into the air, and try who shall throw it to the greatest distance, and surpass the rest of his competitors; and this exercise not only strengthens the shoulders, but gives a spring and

vigour even to the extreme parts. Now as to the mud and sand, which at first appeared to you so mighty ridiculous, you shall hear, Anacharsis, wherefore they are spread in the place of exercise. The first reason is, that the competitors may fall soft and without danger; who might hurt themselves by falling upon hard ground. The next is, to promote that slipperiness occasioned by a mixture of mud and sweat, which made you liken them to eels, and which is neither useless nor ridiculous. but exceedingly conducive, on the contrary, to render them strong and vigorous. For under these circumstances they are necessitated to take a fast and firm hold of one another, to prevent their slipping away; and you must by no means think it an easy matter to lift from the ground a man who is all over oil, and mud, and sweat, by the help of which he is constantly endeavouring to fall and glide away from your embraces. All these things, as I said before, are of use in war; whether it be necessary to take up speedily and bear out of the battle a wounded friend, or seize upon an enemy, and carry him off in your arms; for this reason the exercises we propose to them are always carried to an excess; that, having been accustomed to harder things, they may perform easier matters with less difficulty. The sand we make use of for a quite different purpose, namely, to take away the slipperiness occasioned by the oil; for as in the mud they are practised to hold fast an adversary, assisted by the lubricity of his body to escape; in the sand they learn to get away, even when they are so strongly and so firmly held, that one would think it almost impossible to break loose. We receive also this further benefit from the sand: for being thrown over our bodies when they are in a sweat, it not only prevents immoderate perspiration, and by that means enables us to hold out the longer, but keeps us also from being injured by the winds blowing upon us while our pores are open; besides, it carries away with it all kind of filth, and renders the body more sleek and shining. And indeed I should be glad to set before you one of your white-skinned fellows, that has always lived under cover, and any one of these, who have been bred here in the gymnasium, washing off his mud and sand, and ask you which of the two you would wish to resemble. I am confident you would choose at first sight, without making any experiment of the deeds of either; you would choose, I say, without a moment's hesitation, that compact and wellordered frame of body, rather than that other delicate complexion, softened and melting almost with luxury and cockering, and looking white, as well from the scarcity of blood, as from its retiring all to the inward parts.

These, Anacharsis, are the exercises in which we educate our youth, and by the means of which we hope to make them strenuous defenders of their country; under whose protection we ourselves may live in liberty, get the better of our enemies if they attack us, and become so formidable to our neighbours round, that they may all stand in awe of us, and the greatest part of them pay us tribute. In peace too we doubt not but to find them the better for our instructions; neither inclined to emulate one another in base and shameful actions, nor through the want of employment turning them.

selves to riot and debauch: these exercises affording them continual occupation, and filling up all the
vacancies both of their thoughts and time. And
in this, Anacharsis, consists the public good and
happiness of a state, to have its youth perpetually
busying themselves in useful and commendable employments, so as to be equally fitted and prepared
either for peace or war.

Ana. Therefore, Solon, when your enemics come to attack you, smearing yourselves over with oil and sand, you march forth in that manner to assault them with your fists; and most certainly they have great reason to be afraid and run away, lest, as they stand gaping, you may chance to fill their mouths with sand, or jumping round them you may get upon their backs, and then twisting your legs about their bellies, choke them with placing your elbows upon their throats underneath their helmets. And supposing they should, as they will undoubtedly, attack you with their bows and spears, those weapons can have no more effect upon you, than upon so many statues; because of your being so burnt and hardened in the sun, and so abounding with blood. For being neither chaff nor straw, you will not be soon susceptible of a wound; and if you should, after a considerable time, and with much difficulty, be wounded, it must be a deep and grievous gash indeed, that draws a little, and but a little blood upon you. This, I think, is what you say, unless I entirely mistake your argument, Or perhaps, upon such an occasion, you will arm yourselves with all the equipage of your tragedians and comedians; and, if you go forth to battle, put on their grinning head-pieces, to make yourselves

terrible to your enemies, and scare them with your frightful faces. And pray do not forget those same high-heeled buskins, which will prove very light for you, should you have occasion to run away. Or if you are in pursuit of the enemy, it will be impossible for them to escape you, coming after them with such mighty strides. Consider then, Solon, whether all these pretty things be not trifling amusements, fit only for such young fellows as love idleness, and have nothing better to do. To be really free and happy, you stand in need of other kinds of schools, and of the only true exercise, that of arms. Neither must this contest be carried on in sport with one another, but with an enemy, where danger may teach you courage. Wherefore, laying aside your oil and sand, instruct your young men in the management of their bows and javelins: not putting into their hands such light darts as are to be carried away with every puff of wind; but a weighty spear, that whizzes as it flies, or a stone that is as much as they can lift; and a sword, a target on their left arms, a breast-plate, and a helmet. As you now are, your safety seems to me owing to the favour of some god, who has saved you hitherto from perishing by the attack of a few light-armed soldiers. Should I now draw the little sword that I carry here at my girdle, and singly fall upon all your young fellows there, I leave you to guess whether I could not make myself master of the gymnasium, merely by shouting, while they would all scamper away, not one of them daring to look upon a naked sword; and I in the meantime should die with laughing, to see them creeping round the statues, hiding behind the pillars, weeping and trembling. Their bodies would not then appear so ruddy as you see them at present, but turn pale, and take a tincture from their fear. Such are the effects of your profound peace, that you cannot stand the sight even of the plume of an hostile helmet.

Solon. The Thracians, Anacharsis, who, headed by Eumolpus, made war upon us, and those Amazonian horse of yours, who under the conduct of Hippolita attacked our city, and all those other people who have tried us in the field, never spoke of us in this manner: neither, my good frieud, ought you to have imagined that we go out unarned to battle, because our youth perform their exercises naked, in which as soon as they are perfect we teach them the management of their arms; and they handle them, I can assure you, not a whit the worse for having learned the other.

Ana. And where, I pray you, is the school in which you teach the exercise of arms; for I have seen nothing like it in the city, though I have been all over it?

Solon. But if you continue among us for any time, Anacharsis, you will find that every man is well furnished with arms, which we make use of when there is occasion, as well helmets as caparisons and horses, and horsenen too; almost one fourth part of the citizens consisting of horsemen. Though we think it needless in time of peace always to carry arms and wear a sword. On the contrary, whoever is discovered with arms, either in the city or in the assemblies of the people, is liable to be fined. You Scythians, indeed, are to be excused for going always armed, considering

that you not only dwell in an open country, in which you are perpetually exposed to sudden invasions and surprises, but are constantly at war with one another. An enemy, before you are aware, may fall upon you in your sleep, drag you out of your waggons, and cut your throats. Thus your mutual distrust of one another, and your not living together under any certain laws or government, makes it necessary for you always to carry arms, that they may always be in a readiness to defend you in ease of an attack.

Ana. You deen it therefore, Solon, quite needless to wear a sword when there is no occasion, and are for saving your arms lest they should be spoiled by handling; for which reason you lay them up carefully till you want to use them; and yet, without being compelled to it by any urgent reason, you exercise and batter the bodies of your young men, exhaust them with continual sweatings, and prodigally pour into the dirt and sand that strength, which you ought to husband and reserve against a necessary occasion.

Solon. You seem, Anacharsis, to consider bodily strength in the same light as you do wine, or water, or any other liquid; and to be afraid, lest in the agitation of these exercises it should leak out of the vessel imperceptibly, and leave us nothing but a hollow, dry, and empty body. But the case is quite otherwise; the more you draw it off in exercises, the faster it flows in; according to the fable of the Hydra, (if you have ever heard it) who in the room of one head that had been cut off, had always two others immediately spronting up. A body indeed never inured by labour, nor braced by exer-

cise, and that has not a sufficient strength of constitution, would quickly be impaired and destroyed by toil. Between which and the former there is the same difference as between a fire and a lamp; the former is kindled and increased, and set into a blaze, by the same blast of wind by which the latter, for want of being sustained by a due supply of fuel, is soon extinguished.

Ana. I do not rightly understand yon, Solon; your arguments are too subtle, and require a more accurate attention, and a sharper penetration than I am master of. But this I would fain know, what is the reason that in the Olympic, Isthmian, Pythian, and your other Games, at which, you tell me, there is always a great concourse of people to see the youth perform their exercises, you never have a combat of armed men; but bring them there naked, for the spectators to see them kicked and cuffed about, and then to the conqueror you give a branch of laurel or wild olive? The reason why you do this is certainly worth knowing.

Solon. We imagine, Anacharsis, that they will apply themselves with more eagerness to their gynnastic exercises, if they see those who excel in them honoured upon these occasions, and proclaimed conquerors in the presence of all Greece. For the same reason, as they appear there naked, they take care that they may not be disgraced, to have their bodies in good order, and to render themselves in all respects worthy of the victory: neither are the prizes, as I said before, mean and trifling: to be applauded by all the spectators, to be distinguished and pointed out, as a man that has proved himself the best among all the youth his rivals, is surely no

inconsiderable reward. Hence also many of the spectators, who are of an age proper for these exercises, and whose hearts are not a little animated with these things, return home enamoured of toil and virtue. And indeed, Anacharsis, if you take out of human life the love of glory, what virtue can a man expect to find, or who will be fond of performing any splendid action? And now you may be able to form some judgment to yourself, what sort of men they are like to prove in arms, and fighting for their country, their wives, their children, and their gods, who, for the sake of an olive or a laurel crown, contend even naked with so much eagerness for the victory. What would you say, if you belield the battles of our quails, and our fighting cocks, and the no small earnestness with which we attend to them. You would laugh most assuredly, especially when you were informed, that we do this in obedience to a law, by which all our youth are ordered to be present, and to view these little birds maintaining the battle to their latest gasp. Neither is it ridiculous, considering that in the meanwhile there steals imperceptibly into our hearts a certain promptitude to face danger, that we may not show ourselves less generous and less intrepid than cocks, and yield the victory through an inability to bear wounds, and toil, and hardships. But far be it from us to make trial of our youth in arms, and see them wounding one another; for besides that it is barbarous and savage, it would be very ill husbandry indeed, to massacre thus in sport our best men, whose valour might better be employed against an enemy. But since you tell me, Anacharsis, that you intend to travel over all Greece.

remember when you come to Lacedæmon, not to laugh at the Spartans, nor conclude that they are labouring in vain, when you behold them in the theatre fighting and banging one another for a ball, or in a place encompassed on all sides with water, dividing themselves into two battalions, and attacking each other naked, till either the troops of Hercules, or those of Lycurgus, (for so those two battalions are called) drive the other out of the inclosure, or force them into the water. After which there is peace between them, and no man strikes a blow. But more particularly have a care of laughing, when you see the children whipped at the altar, and streaming down with blood, their fathers and their mothers being present all the while, and, instead of grieving at such a sight, urging their children with threats to bear the lashes, beseeching them to hold out as long as possible against the pain, and endure their miseries with courage. And indeed many have died under the trial, disdaining to give out in the presence of their relations while they had any life left, and to show any weakness for their bodies; and in honour of these have the Spartans erected statues at the public charge. Wherefore, when you see all this, conclude not that they are mad, nor say that without any necessity they torment themselves, not compelled to it either by a tyrannical master or an enemy. Lycurgus, their legislator, could without doubt have given many good reasons, why he chose to afflict them in this manner, having no intentions, either as an enemy or out of ill-will, to waste and consume their youth. His design, on the contrary, was to render those, upon whom was to depend

the safety of their country, as hardy and brave as possible, and superior to all kinds of evil. And certainly you yourself may well imagine, without being told it by Lycurgus, that such a Spartan, if he should happen to be taken by the enemy in war, would never, for the apprehension of the lash, divulge the secrets of his country: but, smiling, would endure the torture, and strive with the executioner which should be first tired.

Ana. Pray, Solon, was Lycurgus himself scourged in his younger days, or did he produce these pretty youthful inventions of his at an age that excluded him from undergoing them himself?

Solon. He framed his laws in his old age, after his return from Crete, where he had resided for a considerable time, having heard that the Cretans were governed by excellent laws, given them by Minos, the son of Jupiter.

Ana. Why then, Solon, do not you follow the example of Lycurgus, and scourge your youth, for these are wholesome things, and worthy your imitation?

Solon. Because, Anacharsis, the exercises we have are sufficient for our purpose, and of our own growth; and we do not think fit to borrow from strangers.

Anu. That is not the reason; the truth is, you are sensible what it is to be scourged naked, with your lands raised up above your head, and that without any benefit accruing from it, either to yourself or your country. Wherefore if I should happen to be at Sparta, at the time of their performing these disciplines, the people, I doubt, will immediately knock me on the head for laughing at

those fools, who suffer themselves to be whipped like a parcel of knaves and thieves. And to say truth, a government that can allow of such ridicalous things stands in need of a good dose of hellebore.

Solon. Think not, however, my good friend, because you plead without an adversary, of prevailing against them in their absence, and condemning them unheard. You will find men in Sparta able to reply to your objections, and give you a reasonable account of their proceedings. But since I have gone through, at your request, many of our customs, which however you seem not entirely to approve, it cannot sure be thought unreasonable, if I desire you, in return, to explain to me the manner in which you Scythians exercise your youth; what schools you have for their education, and how you make them good and valiant men.

Ana. Your request, Solon, is very reasonable: you shall have an account of our Scythian acustoms, plain and simple ones perhaps, and very much differing from yours; for we do not so much as strike a man a blow upon the face, such cowards are we. But be they as they will, you shall hear them. If you please, however, we will adjourn our conversation till to-morrow, that I may not only think at leisure upon what you have said, but muster up in my own mind all I have to say to you. For the present let us finish here, for it grows toward evening.

From what is set forth under the character of Solon in the preceding dialogue, the reader may

perceive with what view the founders of the Olympic Games proposed their olive chaplet as a reward to those who excelled in any of the gymnastic exercises. How well they were seconded by the legislators and governors of the several states of Greece, may be collected from the great honours. privileges, and immunities bestowed on the sacred conquerors in their respective countries; all which demonstrate the high opinion entertained by all the Grecians of the utility of the gymnastic exercises. Of this Plato himself was so sensible, that he delivers it as his opinion, that every well-constituted republic ought, by offering prizes to the conquerors, to encourage all such exercises as tend to increase the strength and agility of the body, as highly useful in war. That such was the general tendency of the gymnastic exercises will easily be admitted: and that the two qualities just mentioned were very proper to be cultivated in a soldier, will, I believe, as easily be allowed by those who consider the manner of fighting practised among the Grecians. Their armies for many ages consisted chiefly, if not wholly, of infantry; cavalry, either from the great scarcity of horses, or from their ignorance in managing them, having been late introduced among them, as I have before observed, Their arms were swords and spears, bows and slings being not of general use. Hence in all their battles the two armies came always to a close engagement, in which strength and agility of body could not but be greatly serviceable to every soldier in particular, and to the whole army in general, as well for offence and defence, as for other purposes: such as seizing on an enemy, or bearing off a

wounded friend, expressly taken notice of in the dialogue of Lucian. This whole matter is set in its proper light by Plutarch, in his Symposiacs 1, or table-talk; where, in answer to the question, 'Which was the most ancient of the gymnastic exercises? . started by some of the company, he observes, that as they were all originally copied from what was practised in war, and intended to prepare and fit men for it, it is to be concluded that boxing was the first, wrestling the second, and running the last: since, in a battle, the first business of a soldier is to strike and ward; the next, when the armies come to a closer engagement, and fight hand to hand, is to push and throw down the enemy; the last to pursue or fly. And he tells us, at the same time, that the Thebans were said to have been indebted to their superior skill and practice in the art of wrestling, for the famous victory obtained by them over the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra. An exercise in which, as we learn from another passage in the same author 2. Epaminondas, as soon as he conceived the generous design of freeing his country from the tyranny of Sparta, took care to have his fellowcitizens well instructed, frequently matching them with Spartans, and taking occasion from their victories in the gymnasium, to encourage them not to dread those adversaries in the field, whom they had found to be so much inferior to them in strength.

The Greeks, as I have said, were distributed into several petty independent states, whose strength and security depended wholly upon the number of

1 Lib. ii, Quast. 5. <sup>2</sup> In Pelopida, VOL. 1. Q

men, which, upon occasion, they were able to bring into the field. The principal object therefore of every government, was to make that number as large as possible. To this end, as no one was exempted from serving his country in war, every man of free condition (for slaves were not admitted into their armies unless on very extraordinary emergencies) from the highest to the lowest, was from his youth trained up in such a manner, as by them was judged most conducive to that purpose; that is, in learning and practising the gymnastic exercises: by which, though they were not directly instructed in the management of their arms, yet they were inured to toil, and rendered hardy, healthy, vigorous, and active: qualities which, however little regarded among us at present, were by the wisest men among the Grecians esteemed absolutely necessary in a soldier. And indeed this attention to the rendering the bodies of their citizens healthy and robust, was by some of them carried even to a vicious excess; so far as to lead them to neglect or overlook some other matters, of at least equal, if not superior importance to a well-constituted government: instances of which might easily be produced from the famous institutions of Lycurgus, and even from the no less famous commonwealth of Plato: in both which many absurdities, indecencies, and immoralities, even of a very heinous nature, were allowed of, merely for the sake of furnishing the state with a race of strong and healthy citizens.

But in pursuing this point of the gymnastic exercises, esteemed so beneficial to the public, and for that reason so cultivated and encouraged in all the great Games of Greece, as well as in those celebrated in every state and city, the Grecians at length fell into an error, into which many states and communities, as well as private people, both before and since have fallen, even in matters of more serious concernment. They came to mistake the means for the end. For by overrating the victories obtained in the gymnastic exercises, and rewarding the conquerors with greater honours than were in reason due to them, they in time caused those victories to be considered, by the multitude at least, as the final objects of their ambition. Whence it came to pass, that numbers among them, instead of being made good soldiers, became only eminent Athletes; and that course of education, which was set on foot with a view of making every man useful to his country, tended to render many not only useless on those occasions, in which the exigencies of the commonwealth might require the assistance of all its members, but even burdensome to the public: every city being, if not by law, at least by a custom grown in length of time equivalent to a law, obliged to maintain the gymnastic conquerors for the rest of their lives. But this was not the only, nor the heaviest inconvenience that arose from the too great encouragement given to the Athletes: by which term I understand those who followed and practised the gymnastic exercises as a science and profession; an abuse which began in Greece a little before the times of Plato, as we learn from Galen 3, who every where inveighs most bitterly against it; insomuch

3 Ad Thrasybul, c. 33.

that he will not allow the athletic 4 art a place among those which are styled liberal, and even refuses it the honourable title of gymnastic; a title in which some people affected to dress it out. The reasons of the indignation, which this learned physician expresses against the Athletes, are principally founded on the pernicious effects of the regimen observed by them, many of which he enumerates; and concludes all with saying, that mankind ought to hate and detest a profession, the excellency of which consists only in disordering the natural constitution of the body, and ruining that kind of strength and vigour, which qualifies a man to be useful to his country, by introducing one of another kind, which can only tend to make him a burden to it. He adds, that upon many occasions he had found himself a great deal stronger than some Athletes of eminence, who had gained several prizes: this sort of men, continues he, not being fit to undergo either the fatigues of travelling, or those of war, and still less proper for civil employments, or the toils of agriculture : in short, neither good for counsel nor execution.

Euripides, in one of his satirical pieces, a fragment of which is preserved by Athenaeus's speaks of the Athletes with the same virulence and contempt: and Plutarch compares them to the pillars of a cymnasium, as well for the qualities of their minds, as for those of their bodies; and in one place 6 he confesses, that nothing had so much contributed to the effeminacy and servility of the Greeks, as this abuse of the gymnastic exercises,

<sup>4</sup> See Mons. Burette's 1 Mem. sur les Athletes.

<sup>5</sup> Deip. lib. x. c. 2. 6 De Sanit. tuenda.

which had rendered them unfit for military duty, and had caused them to prefer the qualities of an excellent Athlete to those of a good soldier.

But I must here repeat what I hinted at in another place, on occasion of a passage there cited from the same author, in his life of Philopemen, that this heavy charge against the Athletes falls with the greatest weight upon those, who exercised themselves in the castus and pancratium; their regimen being the most liable to all the pernicious consequences enumerated by Galen, and the most opposite to that of a soldier.

But without taking into the account all the inconveniences just now insisted on, in many of which the Athletes were joint sufferers with the state, it was certainly a considerable prejudice to the public, to have any number of men called off from their own occupations and affairs, from all duties civil and military, from commerce and agriculture, not to mention the study of the liberal arts and sciences, to the practice of a profession, in which, to arrive at any perfection, they must consume their youth, their health, and fortune, and become chargeable to their friends and country (over which, says Laertius 7, they seem by their victories to triumph, rather than over their antagonists), and by which they contributed to the lowering the value of a crown, originally intended for the encouragement of those only, who by the same qualities, which entitled them to it, were rendered serviceable to their country : a crown, for the obtaining of which, however glorious and sacred. a

<sup>7</sup> In Solon.

man of a noble and ingenuous spirit might well disdain to enter the lists with a professed prizefighter. And by these means were all the salutary views of those, who first instituted the public Games, in great measure disappointed: and the benefits naturally growing out of a proper and moderate use of the gymnastic exercises, converted into mischiefs by the intemperate and short-sighted folly of the Greeks: who, to borrow a metaphor from Pindar, neglecting the mark, and aiming to throw their arrow too far, over-strained and broke the bow. An evil, which seems to have been foreseen and provided against by Solon and Lycurgus, the wise lawgivers of their two greatest commonwealths, Athens and Lacedæmon. The former of whom, by limiting the reward of an Olympic conqueror to no very considerable sum, endeavoured to check the immoderate ardour of his countrymen for the gymnastic exercises; and the latter not only forbade his Spartans to contend in the castus and pancratium, but by rewarding a victory in the Olympic Games with a military post of honour, made it necessary for those, who aspired to the olive crown, to qualify themselves for obtaining it in such a mamier, as might render them at the same time worthy of the honourable rank annexed to it.

These abuses, however, did not grow up all at once; and probably did not arrive at the vicious excess above described, till the Grecians, having been first subdued by the Macedonians, and afterwards by the Romans, lost, together with their liberty, every sentiment of true virtue and glory; and having no worthier an object than one of the

four sacred crowns left them to contend for, turned all their ambition and application to the obtaining an honour, which, in the most flourishing periods of Grecian liberty and glory, had ever been regarded with the highest esteem and veneration.

But be that as it will, it is evident from the authorities above cited, and the reasons before given, that the gymnastic exercises were for many ages considered as beneficial to the public; and so undoubtedly they were, while they were kept within due bounds, and directed to the purposes for which they were originally intended; in which point of view, all political institutions, systems of religion and government, and the prevailing customs and manners of any people, ought principally to be considered by every one, who is desirous of searching out their original causes, and drawing any advantages from the wisdom of remote ages and distant countries: the abuses in any of these being generally to be charged upon the ignorance or corruption of after-times; and never to be urged as arguments against the proper use, for the sake of which they were at first received, and afterwards continued and maintained.

I shall therefore now proceed to point out some further advantages of a civit nature, arising from the gymnastic exercises; one of which was hinted at in the preceding dialogue. This is the employment furnished by their means to the idle of all ages and conditions. By the idle I do not mean the indolent and slothful, but those who, either on account of their youth, or for other reasons, were not engaged in the service of the state; those, whom a competent supply of all the necessaries of

life exempted from labour and business; and those whose occupations allowed them any considerable portion of vacant time. Such citizens, and of such there is always too large a number in every populous and wealthy community, are always dangerous to the peace and order of a commonwealth; which, merely for want of something to do, they are too apt to disturb and break by riotous and factious enormities. To these the gymnasiums, or schools of exercise, erected in every city, and furnished with masters, &c. at the public cost, were always open; and thither they were encouraged and invited to resort, not only from the influence of a prevailing fashion, which had made the learning the gymnastic exercises a part even of a liberal education, or the hopes of attaining one day to the great honours and rewards bestowed upon the conquerors in the sacred Games, but even upon the score of amusement and health; there being many exercises taught and practised in those schools, which, though not admitted into the public Games, were nevertheless of great and frequent use, and tended equally with those of which I have been hitherto speaking, to render the bodies of the practitioners healthy, vigorous, and active. These were the several kinds of dances; some or other of which were constantly introduced on all occasions of festivity, private and public, as marriages, religious festivals, &c. and were performed by a chorus, consisting of a certain number of citizens. Those calculated principally for amusement were several sports, performed with balls of different sizes. Of all which, comprehended likewise under the general name of gymnastic, the curious reader may find a

particular account in three pieces written by Mons. Burette, and printed in the second volume of ' Memoires de Literature de l' Academie Royale des Inscriptions,' &c. Of these several exercises the physicians likewise took advantage, frequently prescribing one or other of them to their patients. in such proportions as their different cases required; as may be seen in Mercurialis, and others. uses indeed last mentioned were only collateral, neither proceeding by direct consequence from the Games, nor immediately relating to them. the gymnastic exercises owed the great vogue and reputation which they acquired, principally to the Olympic Games, and the other three institutions of the same kind; and as the gymnasiums, with all their apparatus of masters of several sorts, baths hot and cold, open and covered places for exercise, &c. were originally founded and maintained, with a view of preparing the Ascetics for those Games. we may very fairly place to their account all the profit accruing to the public from every species of the sympastic exercises, and from all the various uses of the gumnasium: which latter may be considered as a kind of state hospital, where that great branch of physic called prophylactic, or preventive, so much cultivated by the ancients, though entirely neglected by the moderns, was practised with great success on all the members that compose the body politic; which, by the regimen there prescribed, not only found its natural health, vigour, and spirits fortified and augmented, but was kept from falling into many dangerous maladies, proceeding from idleness and luxury, those morbid principles of political, as well as natural corruption and dissolution.

And this leads me to consider another point of no small importance; namely, the temperance and sobriety, which all, who aimed at any eminent proficiency in the gymnastic exercises, were necessitated to observe. This is taken notice of by Horace in these verses:

Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam, Multa tulit fecitque puer ; sudavit, et alsit ; Abstinuit venere et vino 8.

A youth, who hopes the Olympic prize to gain, All arts must try, and every toil sustain; The extremes of heat and cold most often prove, And shun the weakening Joys of wine and love. Francis.

And to this St. Paul alludes, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians? (in whose territory, and under whose direction, the Isthmian Games were celebrated) in the following passage: 'Know ye not that they, who run in the stadium, or foot-race, run all, and yet but one receiveth the prize? so run therefore, that ye may obtain. Moreover, every one that contendeth in the Games ( $\frac{\alpha}{\alpha} \leq \frac{3}{\alpha} \leq \frac{3}{\alpha} \leq \frac{3}{\alpha}$ ) is temperate in all things. They indeed, that they may obtain a corruptible crown; but we, an incorruptible. Wherefore I for my part so run, as not to pass 1° undistinguished ( $\frac{1}{\alpha} \leq \frac{3}{\alpha} \leq \frac$ 

8 Art. Poet, ver. 412. 9 C. ix. ver. 25. 10 ω<sub>ij</sub> x<sub>i</sub> λ<sub>c</sub><sup>2</sup>λ<sub>c</sub><sup>2</sup>ω<sub>c</sub> may also signify in this place, as if I was not unseen, not unseen, not unseen was in the presence of the judge of the Games, and of a great number of spectators. But this, as well as other parts of my translation of this passage, I submit to the more learned reader.

αδήλως), so fight (συχλεύω), not as beating the air (i. e. practising in a feigned comhat, without an adversary), but I bruise and mortify my body (ὑπωπιάζω) and bring it under subjection, lest after having served as a herald (xnov Eac) to others (by introducing them into the Christian stadium) I myself should come off without honour and approbation (αδόκιμος γένωμαι).' Though there are but two expressions in this passage that relate to the point in question, yet I thought proper to translate the whole, that I might show and explain the several allusions to the Games, here made use of by St. Paul: and make the reader understand the full force of the argument urged by him upon the Corinthian converts, to incite them to the practice of those virtues, which (he tells them) would be rewarded with a crown of everlasting glory; and which, for the sake of a fading and perishable crown, were practised by their unbelieving brethren.

. To what a degree of strictuess these latter carried their temperance and continency of all kinds, with regard especially to the two pleasures mentioned by Horace, women and wine, may be seen in many instances collected by Faher 11, to whom I refer the reader: and how much those virtues may be supposed to have contributed to the health and vigour of their bodies (to say nothing of their minds) may easily be conjectured, from the wretched and deplorable effects occasioned by their contrary vices; of which every one's experience cannot fail of suggesting to him but to

<sup>11</sup> Agon. lib. iii, c. 4.

many examples among people of all ranks and conditions in this debanched and luxurious age.

But as this strict temperance was necessary only to those, who were ambitious of excelling in the gymnastic exercises, so it may be imagined to have been observed by a very small number; but if it be remembered, that besides the four sacred Games so often mentioned, there were others, almost innumerable, of the same nature, celebrated in every Grecian town and city, in which the prizes were some of them lucrative, and all of them honourable, it may on the contrary be presumed, that the number of those, who aspired to the honour of a victory in any of these Games, was pretty considerable; especially before the athletic art came to be embraced and followed as a profession: consequently many people in every Grecian state were for many ages kept sober, temperate, and chaste, at least to a certain degree, by the mere influence of an ambition, which, through the encouragement of the public, and by the various means of gratifying it, offered to people even of the lowest condition. may not unreasonably be supposed to have been almost universal: and this could hardly fail of rendering those virtues fashionable, and thereby recommending them to the practice of all those, who seek for no other rule of life but the example of others. It may not indeed be easy, at this distance of time, exactly to determine how far this influence operated; and I may perhaps be thought, by some people, to have given it a larger sphere of action, than either reason or history will justify. All, therefore, that I shall at present insist upon is, that the gymnastic exercises, from the several causes above assigned,

must have had a considerable effect upon the manners and morals of the Greeks, in proportion to the degree of extensiveness and care, with which

they were cultivated and encouraged.

As a farther discouragment to vice and immorality, the reader may be pleased to recollect, that no one, who was guilty of any flagrant or notorious crime, or was depraved in his morals, could be admitted to contend for the Olympic crown, however otherwise well qualified to obtain it. To this end every candidate, at the opening of the Games, was conducted along the stadium by a herald, who, with a loud voice, demanded whether there was any person in all that numerous assembly, who could accuse such a one (naming his name, &c.) of any crime; or charge him with leading a profligate and vicious life; neither was it sufficient for the candidate himself to have a character free from any gross and scandalous imputation, unless he could also in some particular points clear those of his parents and ancestors, by showing there was no bastardy nor adultery in his lineage, as I have observed in a former section. The sanctity of the Olympic Games, considered as a religious festival, undoubtedly gave occasion to this strict inquiry into the characters of those who were admitted to contend in them: and in this particular, as in many others, it is probable the example set by the Eleans, was followed by the superintendants of the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean Games, all which were esteemed in like manner sacred. And so indeed were all the Games, those at least that were celebrated at certain and stated periods, throughout Greece; of

which the number was very considerable, though the title of sacred seems to have been appropriated by way of eminence to the four above mentioned. Now, if it be supposed, (and I see no reason why it may not be supposed) that every man of an infamous and vicious character was, upon that account, excluded as a profane person, from contending in any of these Games, the greatest part of which was founded in religion, it must be allowed that these institutions could not but have checked in some degree, and for some time, the growth of vice and immorality among the Grecians; weeds so natural to the human soil, that it requires the greatest attention, and the utmost force of culture; that is, not only good laws, but a strict and diligent execution of those laws, to keep them under. The laws of the Olympic institution were good; by which I mean, were calculated for the service of the public. And if they failed of their proper effects for want of having been duly executed, we are not to regard and censure them as useless, till we can find a country or a society, in which the administration of the laws comes up to the intention of the legislator.

I have here purposely omitted saying any thing of the equestrian Games; having in those sections, which treat of the horse-races, endeavoured to point out the utility of that part of the Olympic institution, by showing that it was intended to encourage the breed and management of horses; of which noble and useful animal there was for many ages a great scarcity in Greece. What success it met with, may in some measure be collected from some instances produced above, of

the great number of chariots contending at one time in the Olympic hippodrome. Whether the equestrian candidates were subjected to the public inquiry into their characters, mentioned above, I cannot positively say, though I think it most probable that they were: since the reasons taken from the sanctity of that religious festival affect them equally with the gymnastic candidates. But this point I shall leave with the reader; and now, having shown how much vice in general, as well as what particular species of it, was checked and discountenanced by the gymnastic exercises, and by some laws of the Olympic institution, I shall proceed to point out what virtues, or what principles of virtue, were encouraged and inculcated by others. In enumerating these, I shall pass over such as properly belong to the gymnastic exercises. and of which sufficient notice hath been already taken, such as temperance, fortitude, patience, &c. and confine myself to speak of those only, which have an immediate reference to the Olympic Games.

The first and most obvious of these is the love of glory, which (to use the words of Solon in the foregoing dialogue) 'if' you take away out of human life, what virtue shall we have left among us? and who will be ambitious of performing any splendid action?' How powerful an incentive the love of glory is to all generous and noble deeds, is sensibly experienced by great and ingenuous minds; and may easily be evinced by numberless instances in the ancient histories of the Greeks and Romans: among whom, as glory was the principal, if not the sole reward of all virtue, civil as well as

military, so was the sense and love of glory perpetually stimulated and inflamed in the breasts of men of all orders and degrees, by many marks of honour bestowed on the deserving; such as the several military crowns, supplications, ovations, triumphs, statues, medals, &c. among the Romans: and among the Grecians, statues, inscriptions, crowns, sometimes of gold, with many other testimonies of the approbation and gratitude of the public, differing according to the different customs, or genius, of each particular state. Of the same kind was the Olympic olive, the Pythian laurel, &c. which, having no intrinsic value in themselves, could be of no use to the conquerors, but merely as emblems and evidences of their victories, and as such entitling them to the esteem and applauses of their countrymen. By the meanness of these prizes, therefore, were the Grecians given to understand, that praise and glory were the proper recompenses of worthy actions. A doctrine indeed which great and worthy minds alone can perceive, by the inward light of their own native virtue; but which, by the force of education and example, may be inculcated into narrow and groveling spirits, till by degrees it becomes the favourite sentiment even of a whole people; and men of all ranks, orders, and professions, from the king to the lowest servant, and the most inconsiderable subject of the state, shall think themselves well paid for any service done the public (and even the meanest in some shape or other may be serviceable to the public) by any mark of honour bestowed upon them on that account. A recompense so cheap, and yet at the same time so efficacious, and so productive of excellencies of all kinds, that they, who neglect to make use of it in the administration of a commonwealth, may well be supposed to have no sense of it themselves; to know little of the true arts and ends of government, and not to deserve to be intrusted with it.

I shall conclude this article with a passage from Herodotus '' who, in his history of the famous expedition of Xerxes against the Grecians, relates the following incident, which happened when that mighty king, attended by millions, was now far advanced into Greece.

' Some Arcadian fugitives, being in great want of provisions, came to offer their services to the king, and being admitted into his presence, were interrogated by the Persians, and particularly by one person; who, among other questions, asked them. What the Grecians were then doing? to which they answered, That the Greeks were at that time celebrating the Olympic festival, and exhibiting a spectacle of gymnastic and equestrian Games. Being again asked, What was the prize for which the several antagonists contended? they replied, A chaplet of wild olive. Upon which Tigranes, the son of Artabanus, broke out into an exclamation, which, though interpreted by the king as the effect of cowardice, was certainly an indication of a brave and generous mind. For hearing that the prize contended for by the Grecians was a chaplet, and not any pecuniary reward, he could no longer keep silence, but in the

<sup>12</sup> Lib. viii. c, 25.

hearing of all the Persians, said, Alas, Mardonius! against what kind of men have you led us here to fight! men, who engage in a contest with each other, not for gold and silver, but only for a supe-

riority of virtue and glory!'

Another great motive to virtuous and noble actions, suggested to the candidates for the Olympic olive, and through them recommended to all the Grecians, was a due regard to the reputation of their families and countries. This was intimated by the custom of joining to the name of the candidate, both before the contest and after the victory, the name of his father, together with that of the city or country where he was born, or to which he at that time belonged. By which custom the close union and connection, which nature and reason had made between a son and father, a citizen and the state, was, as it were, ratified and declared by the authority and voice of the public : and every man was taught to consider himself not as a single and independent individual, but as making part of a family and society; to whom, as participating in some measure of his glory or disgrace, he was accountable for his good or bad demeanour. That the consideration just mentioned is capable of operating very powerfully, both in restraining men from infamous actions, and exciting them to good, needs not here be proved. The force of it is felt and understood by all, and frequently urged as a topic either of encouragement or dehortation, even in common and ordinary life: in which, if it is of any efficacy, as it often is. it ought surely to affect, in a much stronger manner, all persons of a noble and illustrious parentage, and all the members of any city, society, or kingdom, that make a considerable figure in the eyes of mankind, especially on great and public occasions: as in a battle, for instance, in which every individual ought to remember, that the honour of his country, as well as his own in particular, that of his family, or of the corps to which he belongs, is interested in his behaviour; the glory of a victory, and the disgrace of a defeat, being generally placed to the account of the whole nation; and the valour or cowardice of a people too often measured by that of their troops, who in those cases are looked upon as their representatives.

There is also another circumstance, in which a single man, though not acting in any public character, may yet have it in his power to do honour or discredit to his country: and this is the circumstance of a man travelling into foreign nations; where, though himself and his family may happen both to be equally unknown, his country may not, In this case he will be considered only in a national light, if I may so speak ; and a general character of his countrymen will be formed, from the specimen he is supposed to give of it in his particular manners and behaviour. In this situation many of the candidates, those especially who came from remote Grecian colonies settled in Asia, Africa, Macedonia, Sicily, &c. must in some sort have appeared in the Olympic stadium; which may be looked upon as a kind of public theatre. where every private Grecian might have an opportunity of producing and signalizing himself. and his own particular city, town, and family, in

neither of them should have gained any other immediate advantage, besides that of being drawn out of obscurity, and made known to the rest of their brethren, yet a foundation was here laid for many more; a spirit of emulation, a sense of glory, and a zeal for the honour of the public, which is always increased by every new accession of reputation acquired to it, was infused into all the members of the community: who rejoicing with their fellow-citizen on these occasions, and bestowing upon him public marks of distinction, both felt and acknowledged at the same time, that the glory of any one member redounded to the credit of the whole body; and were thereby taught insensibly to regard, in all their actions, the dignity and service of the state. A principle, to which, in conjunction with the love of glory. spoken of in the foregoing article, may principally be ascribed all the virtue, valour, wisdom, with many excellencies of an inferior kind, which adorn and dignify the Greek and Roman name. By both which people, but more generally by the former, were these two great principles, so fruitful in merit of all sorts, cultivated with the utmost diligence and care, and by many various methods disseminated throughout all orders and professions of men.

Concord and union among themselves was also plainly insinuated, and strongly recommended to all the different people of Greece, by another law of the Olympic Games; that, I mean, by which all, who were not of Greek extraction, were excluded from contending in them. By this law

they were reminded of their being brethren, and incorporated as it were into one nation, under one common name. Had due attention been paid to this wise and politic ordinance, under the sanction of which they were invited to meet together every fifth year, in order to join in sacrificing to one and the same deity, the common father and protector of the whole Grecian name; and in celebrating Games, in which all Grecians, and only Grecians, were equally admitted to contend, for a crown equally reverenced by them all: to this ordinance, I say, which may be considered as a sacred band of nuion, had due attention been paid by the several states into which the Grecians were distributed, they need not have dreaded either the Roman commonwealth or the Persian monarchy: the latter of which was checked and humbled more than once, and at length entirely subdued, by no very considerable part of the Grecian body; and the former prevailed over them more by means of the intestine feuds and divisions, which had for many ages weakened and disjointed the forces of Greece, than from their own intrinsic strength, or from any superiority either in valour or in military skill, which the Romans possessed over their Grecian antagonists. But what avail the most salutary laws, or the best framed systems of government, without a sufficient authority to enforce the execution of the one, and to keep together the several parts of the other, to give each its proper motion, and to make them all concur in one operation, and mutually unite their forces to strengthen and support the common cause? This was always wanting to the Greeks.

who never but once, as I can remember, acted in concert under the direction of a single person; and that was in their very early times, when they lived not in commonwealths, but under limited monarchies; I mean in their expedition against the city of Troy, under Agamemnon, who seems to have been invested with no other powers but such as were barely necessary for the general of an army; and to have been raised to that authority, chiefly on account of his being principally concerned in a war undertaken solely to revenge an injury done to his family in the person of his brother Menelaus. In the Persian war indeed, the chief command both by land and sea was yielded to the Lacedæmonians, whose pretensions to it were founded more upon their own pride, and submitted to rather from the pressing necessity of the times, than the strength and greatness of their republic. The Athenians, who had as good, and perhaps a better claim to it, acquiesced for that time under the superiority thus allowed to Sparta; and to this they were induced, by a generous concern for the common liberty of Greece, for which, to do them justice, they always showed a more disinterested regard than their rivals the Lacedæmonians; and upon that occasion contributed more to preserve it. But no sooner were the Persians driven out of Greece, and Athens a little recovered from the ruinous condition to which that war had reduced her, than almost all the little states of Greece, properly so called, fell into a civil war, occasioned by a dispute between those two powerful republics for dominion and sovereignty; which, had it been originally

lodged in either, or in one single person, and limited by just and equal laws, might not only have guarded the liberties of Greece against any foreign invader, but even have extended their empire farther than it was carried by the arms of Alexander the Great. By such an authority, at least, all the intestine fends and civil wars might have been prevented, which so miserably hareassed the Greecians all the time that they continued to enjoy, under their favourite democratical governments, the beloved liberty of every state (I had almost said, every man) consulting its own separate and particular interest, to the neglect, and indeed to the final destruction, of the general prosperity and freedom of the whole Greek body.

In such a state of civil hostility and confusion were the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus, when Iphitus king of Elis, supported by the authority of the Delphic oracle, instituted the Olympic Games: to which inviting them all, under the common appellation of Grecians, he required them to suspend their animosities; and, by the express commands of the aforesaid oracle, proclaimed a cessation of arms among all those states who were then at war with each other. As by comprehending all, who were admitted to partake in this solemnity, under the common denomination of Grecians, he plainly intimated to them that they were brethren, so did he oblige them to meet together as such, by compelling them, under the penalty of being fined, and excluded from sacrificing to Olympian Jupiter, to forbear all acts of hostility during the celebration of that holy festival, and for some time before and after; thus like a true hellanodic, or judge and arbiter of Greece, as the word imports, summoning them, as it were, before his tribunal, to end all their quarrels by the amicable method of mediation. For it was with the view of constituting the Eleans mediators of Greece, that they were commanded to abstain from war, as we may learn from the following passage of Phlegon: 'The Eleans after this [i, e, after the establishment of the Olympic festival] being inclined to assist the Lacedamonians, who were then laving siege to Elis, sent to Delphi to know the pleasure of the god; who by his priestess answered them in these words: Defend your own country if attacked, but refrain from war, being yourselves the examples and arbiters of amity and concord to all the Grecians, till the return of the fifth [or Olympic] year, which brings peace with it. In obedience to this oracle, the Eleans abstained wholly from war, and gave themselves up to the superintendency of the Olympic Games.'

Considering the divided condition of the Greeks, and their aptness to quarrel with each other, one may easily conceive the great advantage arising from their having one nation among them thus set apart, and consecrated, as it were, to the office of a mediator, by being forbidden to intermeddle in any of their broils, or to molest their neighbours; and being themselves sheltered from all invasions as a holy people, under the protection of the king and father of gods and men, as he was styled by the Greeks. Who was the real author of so wise an institution, and how much bonour was due to him on that account, the Eleans have plainly intimated by an emblematical figure of a

woman, named Ecechiria (a Greek word signifying an armistice, or truce) crowning the statue of Iphitus, erected by them in the very temple of Olympian Jupiter, as I have before observed. To this mediatorial tribunal, thus appointed and protected by the gods, the Grecians might have had recourse, whenever they were inclined to terminate their quarrels in an amicable manner. But upon the return of the Olympic festival, they were all equally obliged, however deeply engaged in war with each other, and how averse soever to peace, to suspend their enmity, and meet together at Olympia; where, besides the dignity and authority of the mediator, every thing tended to conciliate their minds to each other, and introduce amity and concord between the contending parties. The place itself was sacred to peace; the solemnity was founded in religion; and in the Games (in which all, who were entitled to the denomination of Grecians, were equally admitted to contend, whether friends or foes, and from which all rancour and malice in the combatants was excluded, under severe penalties)-in the Games, I say, was exhibited a spectacle in itself highly amusing and entertaining, and attended moreover with a perpetual succession of banquets, and all other accompaniments of festivity and joy. And as the several parts of this great institution drew to Olympia an infinite multitude of people from all parts, so did that numerous assembly invite thither the men of the greatest eminency in all the arts of peace; such as historians, orators, philosophers, poets, and painters; who perceiving that the most compendious way to fame lay through Olympia, were there induced to exhibit their best performances, at the time of the celebration of the Olympic Games. To this assembly Herodotus', read his history; to this assembly Aëion, a celebrated painter, showed his famous picture of the marriage of Alexander and Roxana; and for this assembly Hippias the Elean, a sophist, Prodicus the Cean, Anaximenes the Chian, Polus of Agrigentum, and many other sophists, historians, and orator, composed discourses and harangues; and thither Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, sent a poem of his own writing to be recited publicly. by persons hired for that purpose. From whence, says Lucian 14, they reaped the advantage of gaining at once the general suffrages of all Greece; every state having its representative, as it were, in that numerous and solemn convention, and all who assisted on these occasions carrying with them to their respective countries the name and reputation of that person, to whose glory the common seal of Greece, if I may so speak, had already been set at Olympia. By the pleasure arising from these works of peace, and the applauses bestowed upon them, the minds of men were insensibly softened and diverted from the thoughts of war. Besides, in so numerous an assembly of the most considerable persons of Greece, there never could be wanting some patriots of ability and authority to interpose their friendly offices, and incline the contending parties to listen to an accommodation: as was once done by Gorgias, a celebrated rhetorician, who, having composed an ad-

<sup>13</sup> Lucian in Herodoto.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

mirable treatise upon the subject of concord, read it publicly at Olympia to all the Grecians, who were at that time quarrelling among themselves.

But besides the religious solemnity, and the gymnastic and equestrian Games, Iphitus also instituted a fair 15, to be held at Olympia at the same time; with a view, doubtless, of uniting the several people of Greece still closer to each other. in a friendly intercourse of unitual commerce. which can only flourish in times of peace; and which, by the many advantages it brings along with it, as well to the public as to the particular persons engaged in the various branches of trade, naturally tends to call off the attention of mankind from war and violence, and, what perhaps is still worse, the stupid and lazy indolence of an uncivilized and savage life, to the more pleasing methods of polishing and enriching themselves and their countries, by cultivating all the useful arts of civil and social industry.

When the Grecians happened to be free from these intestine distractions, to which they were too much subject, their meeting together at Olympia every fifth year was highly beneficial to them upon other accounts. For as they were, by their various settlements on the coasts of Asia, and Africa, and in Europe, dispersed and scattered into very distant parts of the world, they had, at the return of the Olympic festival, an opportunity of acquainting themselves exactly with each other's strength and condition, by means either of the candidates, who came from all parts to contend for

<sup>15</sup> Velleius Paterc, lib. v.

the Olympic olive, or of the deputies sent by every Grecian city with victims and offerings to Olympian Jupiter. By the same means also they might receive information of any danger, which seemed to threaten the whole community of Greece, or those of their brethren who were settled on the frontiers, and exposed to the attacks of their common and perpetual foes; whom, as well for distinction sake as out of hatred and contempt. they styled barbarians. Against these, that is indeed against all the nations that surrounded them. and especially the Persian, their nearest and most formidable enemy, it behoved them to be constantly on their guard, as all the Greek inhabitants of Asia, whose number was very considerable, were in continual and immediate danger of being swallowed up by that mighty empire; and with their safety that of their European brethren was so closely connected, that if the banks which kept the great Persian ocean within its bounds, should happen, for want of their concurrence to strengthen and support them, to be once broken down, it was to be feared the inundation would soon extend to Greece itself, properly so called; as they once experienced, to the great hazard of the total destruction of the whole Grecian name. As their meeting, therefore, at Olympia, furnished them with an opportunity of knowing their own strength and condition, as well as the forces and preparations of their common enemies, so were they enabled by the same means to provide in the most effectual manner for the general security, by deliberating and consulting on the state of the public, strengthening the union among themselves, and

mutually exhorting and encouraging each other, to guard and maintain their common liberties, and in every case to proportion the defence to the danger that threatened either the whole, or any part of the whole community of Greece. Here too any particular state of Greece, that was oppressed by a powerful faction of her own citizens, or by the invasion of a sister state, might make her complaints, and plead her cause before the rest of her brethren, by whose interposition she might be relieved from a grievance, which her single strength was not sufficient to redress.

As Olympia, from the causes before assigned. grew to be a place of general resort, Greece derived from thence some other advantages, which probably were not at first foreseen: for in process of time Olympia became a kind of public repository of historical monuments; in which were kept. engraven upon marble columns, many solemn treaties made between particular states of Greece, and there recorded as lasting witnesses against those who should infringe them: many memorials of singular and remarkable events, as well as of great and illustrious actions, were there exhibited in trophies, votive statues, and other rich donations, estimated at the tenth part of the value of the spoils, and sometimes even part of the spoils themselves taken from the enemy, consccrated chiefly to Olympian Jupiter, and accompanied with inscriptions, in which the several events that gave occasion to them were specified, and the names of the particular states, and principal persons concerned, were delivered down to posterity. Olympia also, as in the chief seat and residence of

fame, if I may so speak, were erected statues in honour of many eminent and illustrious men; of most of which the reader may find a particular account in the fifth and sixth books of Pausanias, to which I refer him, as it would be too tedious to enumerate them in this place. By these public monuments every Grecian, who resorted to Olympia, was instructed in many great points of history, relating as well to his own particular country as to Greece in general; reminded of the glorious exploits of his ancestors and countrymen, and excited to imitate their virtues, in hopes of acquiring one day the like honour to himself and his country. And by these even foreigners were induced to entertain a very high opinion of a people, among whom they found so many instances of merit of every kind, and so generous and general a disposition to preserve the memory and lustre of worthy men, to serve as examples and encouragements to after-ages.

These were some of the principal advantages (for I do not pretend to have considered all) accruing to Greece from the institution of the Olympic Games; which, though they were for above a thousand years so highly reverenced by the Grecians, and are so frequently alluded to by all the Greek, and by many Roman authors, are yet but imperfectly known even to men of learning; and have never, that I know of, been placed in the light in which I have considered them. A light, by which, I flatter inyself, they will now appear to have been established upon great political views; to have had a considerable influence upon the manners and morals of Greeks, and consequently to

deserve the notice of all those, who, for the sake of knowledge and improvement, read the writings and history of that great people, so abounding in

philosophers and legislators.

The other three sacred Games, namely, the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean, were of the same kind, and consisted of the same kind of exercises; to which were added, in the Pythian Games, and perhaps in the others, poetical and musical contests; and in them, as also at Olympia, even heralds or cryers, and trumpeters, were admitted to contend with each other, though I cannot find that these last-mentioned contests were exhibited in the stadium; at least not at Olympia, where there was a place appropriated to them, and where it seems to me that the conquerors did not receive a crown; for which reason I did not think proper to mention them before.

From what has been said of the utility of the Olympic Games, we may draw this general in-

ference:

That even the sports and diversions of a people may be turned to the advantage of the public. Or rather,

That a wise and prudent governor of a state may dispose the people to such sports and diversions, as may render them more serviceable to the public: and that by impartially bestowing a few honorary prizes upon those, who should be found to excel in any contest he shall think proper to appoint, he may excite in the husbandman, the manufacturer, and the mechanic, as well as in the soldier, and the sailor, and men of superior orders and professions, such an emulation, as may tend to pro-

mote industry, encourage trade, improve the knowledge and wisdom of mankind, and consequently make his country victorious in war, and in peace opulent, virtuous, and happy.

END OF VOL. I.